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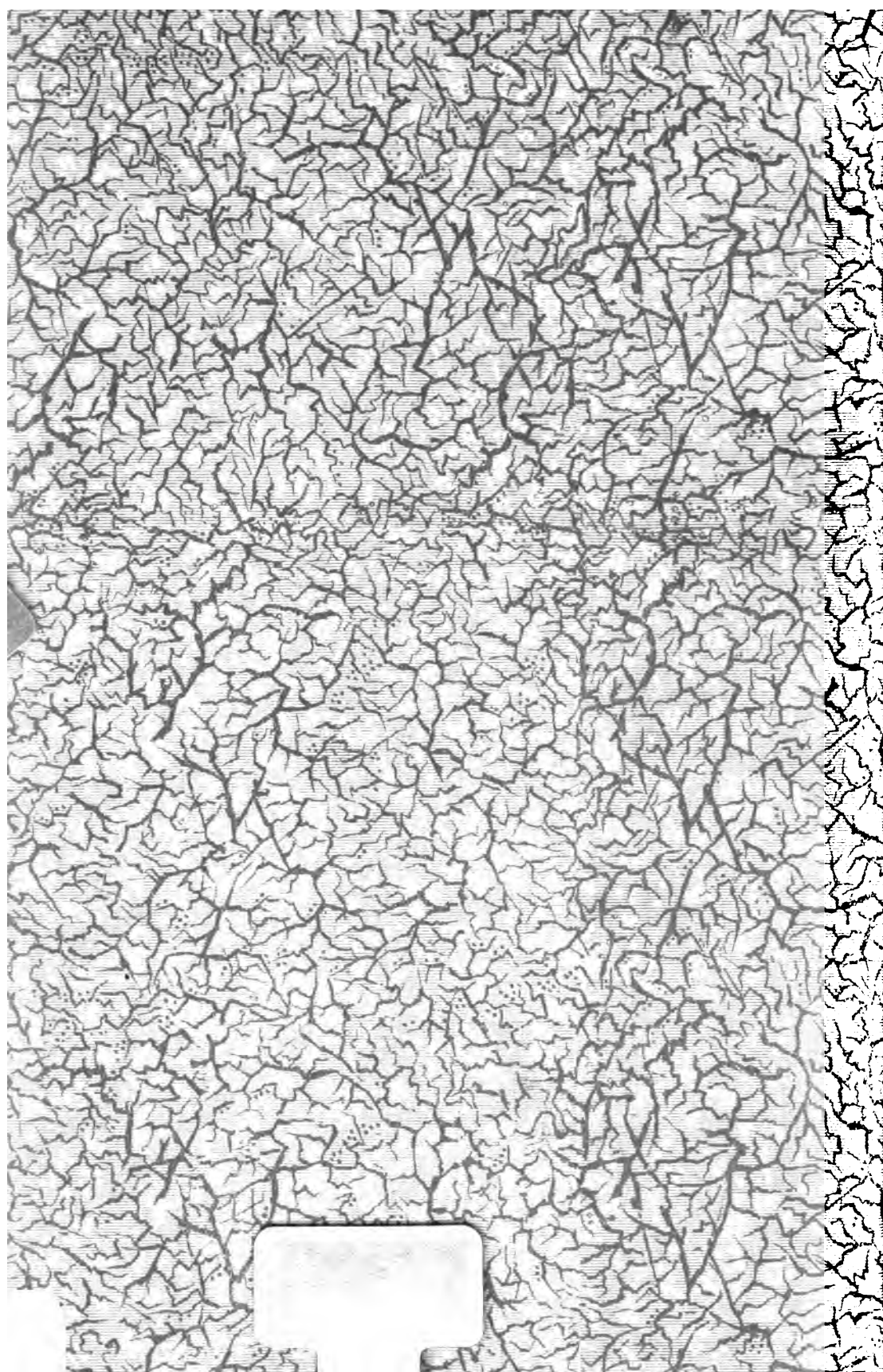
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YEAR BOOK
OF THE
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF
AMERICAN RABBIS

VOLUME XV

EDITED BY
ADOLPH GUTTMACHER and WILLIAM ROSENAU

1905



5665

CONTAINING THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION

HELD AT
CLEVELAND, OHIO, JULY 2 TO 6, 1905

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CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

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OFFICERS

FOR THE YEAR 1905-1906.

HONORARY PRESIDENT,
KAUFMAN KOHLER, Cincinnati, Ohio.

PRESIDENT,
JOSEPH STOLZ, Chicago, Ill.

VICE-PRESIDENT,
DAVID PHILIPSON, Cincinnati, Ohio.

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J. KRAUSKOPF	Philadelphia, Pa.
J. SILVERMAN	New York.
S. SCHULMAN	New York.

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1905-1906.

Publications,

JOS. SILVERMAN, I. S. MOSES, S. FOSTER.

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W. ROSENAU, M. SAMFIELD.

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CHAS. S. LEVI, M. L. MARGOLIS, J. VOORSANGER.

Contemporaneous History,

G. DEUTSCH, MAX SCHLOESSINGER.

Elaboration of a Systematic Jewish Theology,

K. KOHLER, G. DEUTSCH, E. FELDMAN, B. FELSENTHAL,

M. FRIEDLANDER, L. GROSSMAN, M. L. HELLER,

E. G. HIRSCH, I. LEWINTHAL, M. L. MARGOLIS,

S. SCHULMAN, I. SCHWAB, S. S. WISE.

Social and Religious Union,

L. M. FRANKLIN, H. BERKOWITZ, M. J. GRIES.

Church and State,

D. LEFKOWITZ, M. J. GRIES, S. HECHT, S. KOCH;
N. KRASNOWETZ, J. KRAUSKOPF, HARRY LEVI, D. MARX,
I. L. RYPINS, JOS. SILVERMAN, A. SIMON.

Influence of Sunday Service,

H. G. ENELOW, LEO M. FRANKLIN, M. L. HELLER,
E. G. HIRSCH, S. HIRSCHBERG, J. KRAUSKOPF,
CHAS. A. RUBENSTEIN, S. SALE.

Memorial Resolutions on Lippman Mayer,

H. BERKOWITZ, M. LANDSBERG, D. PHILIPSON, S. SALE.

Week-Day Services,

H. G. ENELOW, L. M. FRANKLIN, M. J. GRIES, L. HARRISON,
S. SCHULMAN.

Uniform Pronunciation of Hebrew,

H. MALTER, GEO. A. KOHUT, S. MANNHEIMER,
M. L. MARGOLIS, WM. ROSENAU.

Abraham Geiger Centenary,

K. KOHLER, E. G. HIRSCH, S. SALE, E. SCHREIBER,
G. DEUTSCH, M. L. MARGOLIS, D. PHILIPSON.

Religious Work in Universities,

L. GROSSMAN, E. G. HIRSCH, M. L. MARGOLIS, L. M. FRANKLIN,
GEO. ZEPIN, K. KOHLER, SAM. HIRSCHBERG,
I. L. RYPINS.

On Investments,

CHAS. S. LEVI, M. J. GRIES, J. STOLZ.

Curators of Archives,

L. GROSSMAN, G. DEUTSCH.

Union Hymnal Revision,

C. S. LEVI, M. J. GRIES, D. MARX.

Jewish Quarterly,
M. L. MARGOLIS, H. BARNSTEIN, M. P. JACOBSON,
M. LEFKOWITZ, H. H. MAYER, J. MIELZINER,
J. SCHWAB.

Editing Year Book,
A. GUTTMACHER, WILLIAM ROSENAU.

TEMPORARY COMMITTEES.
ACTING FOR THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION.

Resolutions,
S. HIRSCHBERG, L. M. FRANKLIN, M. MERRITT,
S. FOSTER, J. RAPPAPORT.

President's Message,
D. PHILIPSON, K. KOHLER, S. SCHULMAN, J. STOLZ,
M. J. GRIES, H. G. ENELOW, CHAS. RUBENSTEIN,
T. SCHANFARBER, M. M. FEUERLICHT.

Auditing Treasurer's Report,
I. S. MOSES, I. RYPINS, S. L. KORY.

Auditing Publication Committee's Report,
G. ZEPIN, E. MANNHEIMER, D. ALEXANDER,
J. H. STOLZ, I. PHILO.

Nominations,
J. SILVERMAN, C. S. LEVI, S. HECHT, S. KOCH,
HARRY LEVI, M. SALZMAN, D. LEFKOWITZ.

Thanks,
D. MARX, M. MESSING, J. RAPPAPORT,
L. WITT, M. FABER.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

CLEVELAND, OHIO, JULY 2 TO JULY 6, 1905.

PROGRAMME

Sunday Evening (The Temple).

PRAYER	Rabbi M. Friedlander.
REMARKS	Rabbi J. Krauskopf, President.
ADDRESS OF WELCOME	Rabbi M. Machol.
RESPONSE	Rabbi J. Stolz, Vice-President.
SERVICE	Rabbi Max Currick.
CONFERENCE SERMON	Rabbi L. M. Franklin.
BENEDICTION	Rabbi M. J. Gries.

Monday Morning.

PRAYER	Rabbi N. Krasnowetz.
ROLL CALL	
PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE	Rabbi J. Krauskopf.
REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY	Rabbi Wm. Rosenau.
REPORT OF RECORDING SECRETARY	Rabbi A. Guttmacher.
REPORT OF TREASURER	Rabbi C. S. Levi.
REPORT OF PUBLICATION COMMITTEE	Rabbi J. Stolz.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP CARDS.....	Rabbi M. J. Gries.
REPORT OF SABBATH COMMISSION	Rabbi J. Silverman.

Monday Afternoon.

PAPER "THE LITURGICAL RELATIONS OF THE KADDISH".....	Rabbi I. Schwab.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SYNODAL LITERATURE	Rabbi D. Philipson.

Tuesday Morning.

PRAYER Rabbi M. Merritt.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MINISTERS' HAND BOOK Rabbi J. Stolz.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SEDER HAGGADAH Rabbi H. Berkowitz.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADVISABILITY OF FORMULATING }
A CREED } Rabbi K. Kohler.

Tuesday Afternoon.

ADDRESS ON "EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE" Rabbi S. Wolfenstein.
PAPER, "RASCHI" Prof. M. Schloessinger.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SYNAGOGUE EXTENSION Rabbi G. Zepin.

Wednesday Morning.

PRAYER Rabbi N. Stern.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS UNION, Rabbi L. M. Franklin.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SECTARIANISM Rabbi D. Lefkowitz.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Thursday Morning.

PRAYER Rabbi D. Alexander.
REPORTS OF AUDITING COMMITTEES.
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.
UNFINISHED BUSINESS.
NEW BUSINESS.
ELECTION OF OFFICERS.
CLOSING PRAYER Rabbi K. Kohler.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

Central Conference of American Rabbis

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This organization shall be known as the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECT.

The objects of this organization shall be, to foster a feeling of association and brotherhood among the Rabbis, and other Jewish scholars of America, to advance the cause of Jewish learning, to encourage all efforts towards the propagation of the teachings of Judaism, and to make provision for such worthy colleagues, as owing to advanced age or other cause, are prevented from following their calling.

ARTICLE III.—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. All active and retired Rabbis of congregations, and Professors of Rabbinical Seminaries shall be eligible for membership. All applications for membership shall be acted upon by the Executive Board.

SEC. 2. Honorary members may be elected by the Conference when unanimously proposed by the Executive Board.

ARTICLE IV.—DUES.

SECTION 1. The annual dues of members shall be five dollars, payable at the beginning of each fiscal year.

SEC. 2. These dues shall entitle the members to a copy of all publications of the Association.

SEC. 3. One-half of the annual dues collected, shall be paid into a fund called "The Relief Fund of the Conference," to be used at the discretion of the Trustees of this Fund for the assistance of Rabbis or their families in need.

SEC. 4. Any member in arrears for two years' dues, shall be suspended by the Executive Board, and may be reinstated at any future time by the Executive Board upon payment of all arrears. Notification of suspension shall be sent to the suspended member by the Corresponding Secretary.

SEC. 5. In exceptional cases, where it may be deemed proper, the Executive Board may remit some or all the dues of a member.

ARTICLE V.—EXPULSION.

SECTION 1. When any member of this Conference, by public or private conduct, has rendered himself unworthy of membership, the Executive Board shall make thorough investigation of the charges, giving the accused ample opportunity to defend himself, and if the charges are found true, shall expel said member from the Conference.

SEC. 2. No expulsion shall be made unless eight (8) or more members of the Executive Board vote for the same.

SEC. 3. An expelled member shall have the right to appeal from the decision of the Executive Board to the Conference at its regular annual meeting, and the session at which such appeal is heard shall be executive.

ARTICLE VI.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of this Conference shall be a President, a Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, who, with the addition of nine executive members, shall constitute the Executive Board.

SEC. 2. There shall be three Trustees who shall have charge of the moneys in the "Relief Fund of the Conference," and of the distribution of the same.

SEC. 3. These officers shall be elected annually by ballot, and shall hold their offices until their successors have been elected.

ARTICLE VII.—MEETINGS.

SECTION 1. This Association shall meet annually in general Conference in the month of July, at such time and place as the previous Conference or its Executive Board shall decide.

SEC. 2. Notice of the time and place of each annual meeting shall be mailed to all members, at least four weeks in advance.

ARTICLE VIII.—AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. Amendments to this Constitution shall be submitted in writing to be presented before the Convention in one year and acted upon at the next Annual Convention.

SEC. 2. The Executive Board shall give notice of proposed amendments to each member at least four weeks before the annual meeting.

SEC. 3. A two-thirds vote of the members present at an annual meeting shall be necessary to adopt any such proposed amendment.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I.—DUTIES OF OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE BOARD.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Conference shall perform the duties usually incumbent upon such officers. They shall submit annually to the Conference, a report in writing, of their official transactions in the past year.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer and Trustees of the Relief Fund shall give bonds in such sums as shall be determined by the Executive Board. No moneys of the Conference shall be paid out by the Treasurer except per vouchers drawn by the Corresponding Secretary and signed by the President.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the Executive Board:

a. To take charge of the affairs of the Conference during adjournment.

b. To arrange a specified program for the work of each meeting and to send the same to each member of the Conference, at least four weeks in advance of the annual meeting.

c. To publish in pamphlet form, and in time for distribution at the annual meeting a Year Book, containing a full report of the transactions of the preceding meeting, together with papers read and addresses made or abstracts of the same.

SEC. 4. Notice of meetings of the Executive Board and of the business to be brought up at such meetings, shall be sent to all members of the Board, at least two weeks before the meetings take place, and every member of the Board shall have the right to express his opinion and record his vote by correspondence. No important matter shall be decided in the Executive Board except by majority vote of all its members, expressed either in person or in writing. Five members of the Executive Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 5. Vacancies occurring in the Board after adjournment of the Conference, shall be filled by the Board for the unexpired term until the next election.

ARTICLE II.—STANDING COMMITTEES.

The President shall at the opening of each Conference appoint the following standing committees:

- a. Committee on Resolutions, consisting of three members.
- b. Committee on President's Report, consisting of three members.
- c. Committee on Finance, consisting of three members.
- d. Committee on Publication, consisting of five members.

ARTICLE III.—DUTIES OF COMMITTEES.

SECTION 1. The Committee on Resolutions shall take charge of all resolutions offered at the meeting, unless otherwise ordered, and report upon same before final adjournment.

SEC. 2. The Committee on President's Report shall take charge of the same and shall report on any suggestions or recommendations contained therein.

SEC. 3. The Committee on Finance shall examine the Treasurer's report and the financial report of all committees handling moneys of and by authority of the Conference, and shall report thereon.

SEC. 4. The Committee on Publication shall have charge of all

publications of the Conference authorized by the Executive Board excepting the Year Book. It shall make a report to the Executive Board whenever requested to do so. One-half of the net profits accruing from all publications of the Conference, authorized by the Executive Board, shall be placed to the credit of the Relief Fund.

ARTICLE V.—QUORUM.

Twenty-one members shall constitute a quorum at the meetings of the Conference for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE VI.—ORDER OF BUSINESS FOR ANNUAL MEETINGS.

- 1 Roll Call.
2. Secretary's Report of the transactions of the Executive Board, including the full proceedings of its last meeting.
3. Program of business for the daily sessions.
4. Appointment of Standing Committees.
5. Report of President.
6. Reports of other officers.
7. Offering of Resolutions.
8. Reports of Standing Committees.
9. Reports of Special Committees.
10. Reading of Papers.
11. Unfinished Business.
12. New Business.
13. Election of Officers.
14. Sketch of the Minutes of the Conference.

ARTICLE VII.—AMENDMENTS.

These By-Laws may be amended or altered by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any meeting of the Conference.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SIXTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
Central Conference of American Rabbis
HELD AT
CLEVELAND, OHIO, JULY 2 TO JULY 6, 1905

SUNDAY, JULY 2, 1905, 8 P. M.

The Conference was opened at "The Temple" with prayer by Rabbi M. Friedlander, Oakland, Cal.

Introductory remarks by Rabbi J. Krauskopf, President.

Rabbi Krauskopf said:

It is with great pleasure that I greet and meet you again, members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Considering the distance from this city, at which most of us are located, considering also the season of the year at which our Conferences are held, and the needfulness for many of us of a complete rest and change, after a year's arduous duties, the privilege of welcoming so many of our members speaks encouragingly of the hold which the Conference has upon us.

And well does its sacred cause deserve whatever sacrifice we have made for it. We are gathered in annual council to review the progress of the year, to continue the work begun during past sessions, to consider new needs, and to enter upon new duties for the better conservation of our sacred heritage.

The credit for so representative an assemblage, however, does not belong entirely to the Conference itself. The city of Cleveland is entitled to a goodly share of it. Our assembling here this year is in the nature of a pilgrimage—a pilgrimage to the spot where the lamented founder of our body first gave public utterance to his fondest hope, that of a union of American Israel; a common American Ritual; a college for the education of American Rabbis; a Synod, by means of which the forms and expressions of American Israel might pass from chaos to harmony, from dissension to unison, from individualism to a consensus of opinion, as to what the leaders and thinkers of American Israel consider Jewish belief and Jewish practice.

Fifty years have since past by, during which many of the hopes of our departed leader have been realized or are about to realize.

What nobler mode of celebrating the jubilee, therefore, than meeting in this city and pledging anew, at the cradle of American Jewish Union and American Jewish progress, our fealty to our immortal leader and to the cause to which he gave his best labor and his best thought!

May our meeting this year, in this historic city, become a worthy successor to its noble precursor. May the sacred memories of all that took place in this city, half a century ago, become an inspiration to us for such deliberations and such conclusions as may make this Conference equally historic and equally deserving of a jubilee celebration fifty years hence, when those who shall come after us shall assemble for the centenary celebration of the first Conference in American Israel.

And now, by virtue of my office as President, I declare the Sixteenth Session of the Conference of American Rabbis duly opened.

Rabbi M. Machol welcomed the Conference as follows:

Mr. President and Officers, Colleagues and Friends, Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:—It is to me a most pleasant duty to extend to you friendly greetings; and I consider it a special privilege and high honor to have been appointed to express the words of welcome in the name of the local members, on behalf of

the two reform congregations and their officers and trustees, the large number of friends assembled here this evening, and the whole Jewish community of this city. Our thanks are due to you for having accepted the invitation to meet this year in Cleveland, and we all appreciate the sacrifice you bring at this season to come from all parts of this broad and blessed country, to discuss questions and subjects which, in consideration of your earnestness and scholarship, your religious zeal and liberal thoughts, cannot but lead to valuable achievements and lasting results for Jew and Judaism.

If a precious fruit is produced it is not the tree alone which gets the credit but also the soil on which it grows. If the world is enriched by great ideas, the mind and the place where they originate share the honors; hence, the great pleasure it affords us to have you with us; for, whatever the words you will speak, whatever the work you will accomplish, whatever the seeds you will disseminate, whatever the impulse you will instigate for future activity, this city will receive a part of the distinction, and have another bright page added to her history.

Of all the great men who live in the history of the State of Ohio there are two in particular who rise in my mind at this moment. Out there in the home of the dead, in beautiful Lake View Cemetery, sleeps the one, who on this very day, twenty-four years ago, on the second of July, 1881, received his fatal wound, the martyred President of the United States, James Abram Garfield; and a magnificent monument has been erected over the mortal remains of an honest, liberal-minded, noble-hearted political leader, whose untimely death was sincerely mourned by every loyal citizen of this country.

And the other, a powerful leader in matters of religion, a man penetrated with the spirit of the prophets, fearless and far-seeing, full of love for his people and zeal for his creed, a man who has erected for himself a monument in the midst of Israel by far more magnificent than the other; a monument, not composed of granite and metal but of throbbing hearts and noble minds; our highly revered and much-lamented teacher and adviser, Isaac Myer Wise, through whose untiring efforts, fifty years ago, the first rabbinical convention in this country was called together here in this city of Cleveland.

I do not wish to repeat what the annals tell us about this first Conference with its important consequences, nor is it my intention to offer a special eulogy to Dr. Wise, when I point at the marvellous influence he exerted over the masses who learned to behold in him the upholder and not the destroyer of Judaism. From every word he uttered, from every line he wrote, they could read the sentiments, that the old God is not dead, that the old Torah is not to be substituted by any other guide book for Israel, and the old Decalogue will never cease to be the source of all ethics, and the old Sabbath, the Sabbath of this Decalogue, is never to be changed. And, when five years ago, his voice was hushed forever, he departed this life, full of hope that at last all those upon whom he had laid his hands, will serve as the mighty conquering Joshuas, to continue his work and follow in the footsteps of their master and teacher.

You, gentlemen and colleagues, have always honored and respected the religious tendencies of our great leader. It is this spirit we are much in need of in our days. I know, you bring it to us. I know, you come to us with a mission, with a message. Your message is peace; and your mission is to bring the congregations of Israel closer together, to raise the spirituality, and to promote the solidarity of Israel, to give a fresh impetus to Jewish life. The individual rabbi and spiritual leader does his duty to the best of his ability, but it requires a body of learned men to give to his utterances the right power and the proper emphasis. Besides "the wisdom of the many is superior to the wisdom of any one."

It requires the united wisdom and the concerted efforts of all to suppress the greatest enemy in our ranks: religious indifference. Iconoclasm has spent its force; the time has come for reconstruction. The advocates of the so-called higher criticism had our attention long enough; now we ought to direct our ears and our minds back to the word of the Eternal. It ought to be impressed upon young and old that Judaism is a living fountain which flows through the Jewish heart, and not a straw-fire, for which, in order to keep it up, we have to search continually for fresh fuel; that Israel's religion is not to be everlastingly shaped and formed after the convenience of its followers, but represents a solid rock of principles and convictions. It ought to be impressed upon our people that faith is

not a fad but a vital element; that the Sabbath is not merely to be discussed in the pulpit and at conventions, but to be sanctified, particularly in the family circle; that the congregation does not lay the greatest stress upon the financial aid, but upon the moral and spiritual support of its members.

To impress this and other important things upon our people, is your noble mission, and therefore we hail your coming and clasp your hands with joy, offering to one and all our hospitality in the fullest sense of the word. It would be a breach of etiquette should I come to you with a request. It is not for me to say חכמים הזהרו בבריתכם "Ye wise men be cautious with your words," since there are hundreds of eyes looking at you, hundreds of ears listening to you, hundreds of hearts ready to be swayed in one direction or the other. This is not my mission to you this evening. Also my message to you is peace. "ברוך אתם כבודכם בשם" "Blessed be those who come in the name of the Lord; we bless you from this house of the Lord." May your work be blessed. May the seeds you are about to disseminate in our midst produce such fruit that we shall always remember you with a blessing. And when your work is over, and you return to your respective homes, may you take along a favorable impression of our city and our people who will try to make good the promise with which we extend to you once more a hearty welcome.

Response by Rabbi Jos. Stolz, Vice-President:

It is the established custom of the Central Conference that the First Vice-President respond to the address of welcome; and since "custom is supreme" I gladly yield to the authority of this tradition, and, on behalf of my colleagues, express to you, Dr. Machol, our sincere appreciation of the hearty welcome you extended to us who have gathered to hold our Sixteenth Annual Convention in this beautiful and hospitable city of yours, now doubly sacred to the American people, because here will lie, beside the precious remains of our martyred President, the body of the great statesman, John Hay, whose sudden death is mourned to-day by the civilized world, and not by any means the least by the

Jews whose rights he championed with so much courage, ability, and humanity in his epoch-making state paper on the legal status of the Jews in Roumania.

I am confident that I speak in the name of all the delegates present, when I assure you that we esteem it a privilege to meet again in the Forest City and to be brought face to face, once more, with a Jewish community in whom the communal spirit is so strongly developed; a community whose Orphan Asylum and Home for the Aged are so favorably known throughout the land; a community that has ever shown a deep interest in the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Hebrew Union College, and the other national and international organizations that have been called into existence to cement the brotherhood of Israel and to promote the larger interests of Judaism; a community that has been richly blessed by the extensive learning of our good friend and colleague of former days, Dr. Aaron Hahn, the faithful yoke-fellow of Dr. Wise, and has been singularly enriched by the unbounded love of dear old Dr. Wolfenstein, the man who, as the true friend of the orphan, עושה צדקה בכל עת fulfils the command of "doing good all the time," the man who has been the thoughtful, loving father to a goodly number of our own members, and whose grateful, spiritual children are scattered over the length and breadth of the land.

We are indeed happy to come to the city where you, Dr. Machol, have served your people, so faithfully and acceptably for three decades, and to meet in this temple reared so successfully by the executive skill, the impatient zeal, and the single-hearted devotion of the rabbi who stands out in our country as the enthusiastic champion of the Open Temple, the zealous advocate of widening the tent and strengthening the stakes, enlarging the usefulness and broadening the activities of the synagogue.

This is the third conference that convenes in Cleveland. In 1890, fifteen years ago, the Central Conference held its first convention in this city. Here, it effected a permanent organization. Here, our immortal founder delivered his first presidential message,—an historical document in which, with prophetic insight, he divined the

possibilities of our organization ; with the builder's skill, he laid the solid foundations on which it must rest ; with statesmanlike clearness, he outlined what, for a long time to come, will continue to be its legitimate functions and activities ; and, with his contagious earnestness, he expressed his sublime faith in the cause of American Israel, his unshakable confidence in the large part of this Conference is bound to take in the development of American Judaism, as well as in the dignified and unified expression of its aspirations, hopes, convictions, practices, religious life,—a faith and confidence which have held us together these fifteen years—much longer than any similar organization in modern times—and have impelled us to travel long distances and to endure the strenuous excitement of a convention, at a time of the year when most of us are sorely in need of rest.

At the convention of 1890, upon the suggestion of Dr. Wise, the first impetus was given to the preparation of a Union Prayer Book. "Wie laesst sich also in einem solchen Lande, bei solch ausgedehnter Freiheit der Gemeinden, an einen gemeinsamen Ritus denken," wrote Dr. Leopold Stein shortly after the first Cleveland Conference. (v. Sinai, Vol. I, p. 83.)

And, in truth, for reasons which need not now be specified, it did look for a long time as if it would never be possible to get any uniformity into the synagogal service of American Jews. Yet, without a single exception, all the reform rituals have been supplanted in the congregations into which they were first introduced ; and, thanks to the Central Conference, to-day 225 congregations worship from a common ritual, and 70,000 copies of the Union Prayer Book have been distributed from one end of the country to the other. This happy expression of our common convictions and hopes is the real foundation and beginning of the union of which those nine men dreamed who, in 1855, just fifty years ago, issued the call summoning "the ministers and delegates of Israelitish congregations" to come to Cleveland, on the 17th of October, for the purpose of attending a conference to deliberate, among other things, upon "the articles of union of American Israel in theory and practice."

The Conference met ; and, after eight days of earnest deliberation, for the first time in Jewish history, enunciated a platform,

which, it was hoped, might be the basis upon which a future synod could be founded "to preserve the union of Israel and its religion." The principles were:

(1) The Bible, as delivered to us by our fathers and as now in our possession, is of immediate Divine origin and the standard of religion.

(2) The Talmud contains the traditional legal and logical exposition of the biblical laws which must be expounded and practiced according to the comments of the Talmud.

(3) The resolutions of a Synod in accord with the above principles are legally valid.

(4) Statutes and ordinances contrary to the laws of the land are invalid.

I am quite sure that to-day those men would have formulated the platform differently; for, there is probably not one here who could conscientiously reaffirm those principles, *literatim et verbatim*.

And is that strange? In his paper, year before last, Prof. Margolis learnedly and explicitly pointed out how the Jews have constantly been modifying the expression of their religious conceptions; and it would indeed be a miracle if, in view of the penetrating critical investigations into our literature made during the last half-century, we should to-day not feel the need of a reformulation of the principles which were then tentatively enunciated as the platform upon which presumably Jews of every shade and complexion might stand.

Of course, we all know that the anticipated result was not achieved. The second proposition became a furious storm-center. Both here and abroad, a different interpretation was put upon the Talmud-proposition than had been intended by those who formulated it. But, *המאמין לא יחיש* "he who trusts the truth can afford to wait." In the larger perspective of history, we always get nearer to the realities. To-day we see that in the excitement of the controversy some magnified and others minimized the function of the Talmud in the development of Judaism. They looked at that monumental literary phenomenon from different angles; and whereas, some beheld its narrowing and exclusive tendencies and trembled with fear, others felt that it was really the Codes which riveted the fetters upon

the modern Jew, while in the Talmud they found a record of institutions exquisitely devised by the genius of the Jew for the reconciliation of the biblical letter with the new spirit of the times, for the adaptation of the eternal principles of Judaism to the changing conditions of the people of Israel.

Both parties to the controversy realized the necessity and legitimacy of reform; but their methods diverged. The one thought that the cause of Judaism would best be served and the union of Israel most securely maintained by fostering the most unhampered individualism; and the other was as decidedly of the opinion that it was the combined wisdom of the rabbis and laymen, expressed through the medium of an authoritative body, aided by historical precedents, that would be the surest guarantee of the development of our religion along safe and sane lines, the best medium for the adaptation of the religious lives of our people to their new social and political conditions, without endangering their historical continuity with the past, without dissipating the heritage of their fathers, and without cutting away from their coreligionists the world over.

To-day, we are confronted by the same two parties. Both long for progress and union. Both want to reconcile religion and life. Both are eager to preserve the unity of Israel. Both revere our literature, our history, and our traditions. Both advocate reform for the sake of Judaism and not for the sake of reform. But, these want it with a Synod; those, without one.

Perhaps we shall not arrive at a decisive conclusion at this session, either. No matter. The very discussion will be a blessing, if it be conducted **לשם שמים** without ugly personalities, despicable suspicions, and contemptible incriminations. For, it must, of necessity, redound to the benefit of American Israel, if, in the light of many different opinions, we give serious thought to the drift of things, to the dangers that confront us, to the risk of disintegration that threatens us.

Providence has put a great responsibility into our hands. America promises soon to become the center of gravity of Israel's spiritual interests. Two hundred and fifty years ago, the first Jews landed in New Amsterdam. To-day, some of the thoughtful Jews of

Europe are pointing to this country as the most promising land in the world for the wholesome development of Judaism. Every steamer conveying immigrants is bringing to our shores men endowed with extensive Jewish learning, with lofty idealism, with a superb moral heroism; and, I sometimes wish, that they had as much justification to be proud of us as we have a right to be proud of them as our co-religionists. Surely, if we could unite our spiritual forces, as we are coming together in our philanthropic work, having so great a past behind us, might we not, in this glorious land of ours, increase the heritage of our fathers, develop the highest type of Jewish manhood and womanhood, and, in accordance with the noble vision of Isaiah, again make some valuable contribution to the cause of religion?

Brethren, much depends upon our deliberations this week; and חכמים הזהרו בדבריהם "ye sages, beware of your words." Let us proceed with all the care that becomes a deliberative assembly. Once more I say הכאמין לא יחיש "he who trusts the cause is not impatient to see tangible results." As Prof. Lazarus said: "In allen Dingen, und in religiösen zumeist, je idealer, desto pracktischer."

Perhaps, profiting by the mistakes of former Conferences, we can, during the coming year, by slow and careful deliberation and by a fraternal interchange of opinion, together construct a tentative platform upon which all of us might agree; a platform which will allay the fears and suspicions of those who justly dread any encroachment upon their religious liberty, and, at the same time, will satisfy those who, with equal solicitude, desire such historical safeguards as will foster loyalty to our traditions, preserve the continuity of our history, and strengthen the unity of Israel while the reconciliation is being effected between our religion and the new demands of the age.

Let us put our heads and our hearts together, conscious that our responsibility to כל ישראל "all Israel" is greater than our responsibility to our individual selves. Let us cherish the words with which Dr. Wise opened our first Conference: "Collective learning and piety is a power for good by sincere co-operation. If many support one, one is a power. If one support many, he becomes the wisdom and energy of many." Yea, let us approach our labors in the spirit in

which Isaac Hirsch Weiss, of blessed memory, approached his task, assuredly with a keen, a critical, an independent mind and yet, in the synthetic spirit born of true piety, as he says in his preface to the second edition of his monumental work, *דרכת יחזקאל באמונה וכלב תמים*, a piety which Maimonides recommends in his *Hilchoth Teshuba* (III, 2) when he warns us that "he need expect no share in the world to come who estranges himself from the ways of the congregation, does not share its burdens, or sympathize with its sorrows, but goes his own way, as if he were not a part of it." *הולך בדרכו.... וכאלו אינו מהן*

Brother Machol, I return your greetings, and in the name of my colleagues, through you I would thank the Jewish community of Cleveland that, by extending to us again their hospitality, they have brought back to us not only the memories but also the inspirations of the two other Conventions associated with the name of their city,—Conventions which, whatever they may have achieved or may have left unaccomplished, have certainly made an honest effort on the basis of our history, traditions and literature, to unite Israel for great and noble purposes, to build up institutions for the prosperity of Israel, and to lay firm foundations for the promotion of Judaism on American soil.

President Krauskopf then taking the floor, stated:

There is a loss that we have been called upon to mourn, not only as Rabbis in Israel, but also as citizens of our beloved country. While we are gathered here a sad funeral cortege winds its way toward this city, bearing to his last sleep our nation's late Secretary of State, one of the greatest statesmen who ever guided the destinies of the people of the United States, the Honorable John Hay.

We mourn in his untimely demise the loss of one whose distinguished statesmanship preserved the unity of China, secured our reciprocity with Cuba, saved Venezuela from coercion by the great powers, negotiated the treaty for the construction of the Panama Canal, settled the long-standing Alaskan boundary dispute between England and the United States, raised our country to one of the most respected and most influential in the councils of the nations of the earth.

But more than all, we mourn in his death the loss of one of the greatest friends the Jewish people ever possessed in any country, at any time. We recall his note of three years ago to the American representatives at the capitals of England, Germany, France, Russia, Austria, Italy, and Turkey, instructing them to call the attention of these signatory powers to the Berlin Congress of 1878 to Roumania's violation of their treaty. We recall his elucidation in that note of how Roumania persistently violated the treaty of the signatories of the Berlin Congress, which prescribes that "In Roumania the difference of religious creeds and confessions shall not be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights." It told how the Jew is denied the right of citizenship, is excluded from public service and from the learned professions, how nearly every opportunity to earn a livelihood is denied him, how he is prohibited from owning land or tilling it, or from following many of the other respectable trades, how, by reason of these cruel restrictions, he is condemned either to starvation at home or to immigration to foreign lands.

Continuing in his recital of wrongs to the Jew, he gave utterance to these magnificent words: "The teachings of history and the experience of our own nation show that the Jew possesses in a high degree the mental and moral qualifications of conscientious citizenship, and that no class of immigrant is more welcome to our shores than the Jew, when coming equipped in mind and body for entrance upon the struggles for bread."

We recall his eloquent and pathetic appeal to Russia, after the Kishineff massacre, entreating that nation to vouchsafe unto her people of the Jewish faith that humane treatment which their citizenship demands, and which feelings of humanity dictate.

And while both these appeals did not meet with all the reward they richly deserved, they nevertheless made it clear to the nations of the earth that in the United States the Jew possesses a friend who would have to be reckoned with in the future, if religious bigotry and race-hatred should continue their outrages against our people.

Well have his services deserved our profoundest recognition, and

well does our deep-felt sorrow at his untimely loss deserve an adequate expression.

I, therefore, have appointed a committee to draft suitable resolutions, which I now request the Chairman to present.

The following minute was passed on the demise of the Secretary of State, Honorable John Hay:

The Central Conference of American Rabbis convenes under the shadow of the great loss sustained by the American people in the death of John Hay. Few men have attained to so glorious a place in the history of their country. As statesman of the first rank, poet, historian, and humanitarian, he has gained the esteem and affection of his fellow-men.

Through the many years of his public life, he manifested a rare degree of loyalty and wisdom, and a profound sense of justice, thus setting an example to the whole world of the highest character of public service.

His repeated endeavors in behalf of the Jews in the land of their oppression and for the recognition of the rights of American Jews in foreign lands, render his memory sacred to us, both as American citizens and as Jews.

As a token whereof, be it

Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis expresses its deep sorrow at the passing of John Hay; that this Conference adjourn at the hour of the funeral; that this message be transmitted to the family of the deceased, and to the President of the United States, and that this assemblage now rise, in honor of his name and memory.

The Chamber of Commerce of the city of Cleveland extended an invitation to the Conference to attend the John Hay Memorial Services at the Chamber of Commerce July 5.

The evening service was read by Rabbi Max Currick, the Conference sermon preached by Rabbi Leo M. Franklin (*vide* Appendix A), and the benediction given by Rabbi M. J. Gries.

• MONDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1905.

Meeting opened with prayer by Rabbi N. Krasnowetz.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following sixty-seven members responded to their names:

D. Alexander, Toledo, O.; A. Anspacher, Scranton, Pa.; B. Bonnheim, V. Caro, Milwaukee, Wis.; F. Cohn, Omaha, Neb.; H. G. Enelow, Louisville, Ky.; H. Englander, Ligonier, Ind.; M. Faber, Tyler, Tex.; M. M. Feuerlicht, Indianapolis, Ind.; W. Fineshreiber, Davenport, Iowa; S. Foster, Newark, N. J.; L. M. Franklin, Detroit, Mich.; M. Friedlander, Oakland, Cal.; E. Frisch, Pine Bluff, Ark.; A. T. Godshaw, Cincinnati, O.; M. J. Gries, Cleveland, O.; L. Grossman, Cincinnati, O.; A. Guttmacher, Baltimore, Md.; S. Hecht, Los Angeles, Cal.; S. Hirschberg, Milwaukee, Wis.; J. Jacobson, Chicago, Ill.; J. Jasin, Ft. Worth, Tex.; D. Klein, Columbus, O.; J. Klein, Sumter, S. C.; S. Koch, Pensacola, Fla.; K. Kohler, Cincinnati, O.; S. Kory, Vicksburg, Miss.; N. Krasnowetz, Owensboro, Ky.; J. Krauskopf, Philadelphia, Pa.; D. Lefkowitz, Dayton, O.; M. Lefkowitz, Las Vegas, N. M.; Chas. S. Levi, Peoria, Ill.; Harry Levi, Wheeling, W. Va.; Clifton H. Levy, New York; M. Lovitch, Paducah, Ky.; M. Machol, Cleveland, O.; E. Mannheimer, Sioux City, Iowa; S. Mannheimer, Cincinnati, O.; I. E. Marcuson, Cincinnati, O.; D. Marx, Atlanta, Ga.; M. Merritt, Evansville, Ind.; A. Messing, Chicago, Ill.; M. Messing, Indianapolis, Ind.; J. Mielziner, Cincinnati, O.; J. Morgenstern, Lafayette, Ind.; I. S. Moses, New York; S. Peiser, Cleveland, O.; D. Philipson, Cincinnati, O.; I. Philo, Akron, O.; J. Rappaport, Chicago, Ill.; L. J. Rothstein, Kalamazoo, Mich.; C. A. Rubenstein, Baltimore, Md.; I. L. Rypins, St. Paul, Minn.; M. Salzmann, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; T. Schanfarber, Chicago, Ill.; S. Schulman, New York; I. Schwab, St. Joseph, Mo.; J. Silverman, New York; A. Simon, Washington, D. C.; N. Stern, Trenton, N. J.; Jos. Stolz, Chicago, Ill.; Jos. H. Stolz, Cumberland, Md.; A. Traugott, Springfield, Ill.; L. Witt, S. Wolfenstein, Cleveland, O.; Geo. Zepin, Cincinnati, O.; M. Zielonka, El Paso, Tex.

Moved, and carried, by Rabbi Stolz, that the Conference send a message of greeting to Dr. Felsenthal, who was ill at the time and who had rendered valuable services to Judaism and the Conference.

After reading of President's message (*vide* Appendix B) Rabbi Silverman moved that a committee be appointed to consider the message and all of its recommendations, with the exception of Number VI, and that this be referred to the Sabbath Commission appointed last year. (Carried.)

Greetings to the Conference were received from M. L. Margolis, Chas. Freund, Fred Cohn, A. Kaiser, E. S. Levy, H. Englander, Jos. Hertz, H. Berkowitz, D. Blaustein, H. Weiss, E. G. Hirsch, S. S. Wise, M. Raisin, I. Lewinthal, B. Felsenthal.

President announced that the family of John Hay had consented to have a delegation, representing the Conference, present at the funeral services, on Wednesday, July 5, and that a wreath may be placed by same on the casket of the departed Secretary of State. The President was appointed to act as representative of the Conference.

Report of the Recording Secretary was received and ordered to be filed.

REPORT OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

GENTLEMEN.—The Executive Board, elected at the Louisville meeting, met during the past year six times, viz., at Louisville, Atlantic City, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Baltimore. The following is a resume of the business transacted: The arrangement of the program for the Cleveland meeting. The Committee on Union Hymnal was discontinued, and the funds and plates turned over to the Conference. The Publication Committee was charged with the publication of the Union Hymnal, and plates of all our publications were turned over to that Committee.

To centralize the business affairs of the Conference, the Board appointed the Bloch Publishing Co. the sole agent for all our publications. The following agreement, to hold for one year, was entered upon with the Bloch Publishing Co.: The Bloch Publishing Co. is to receive 30 per cent on the list price of Prayer Book and Sermon Book, and 40 per cent on list price of Union Hymnal; to be responsible for all debts; to pay for the insurance on stock, and to render monthly an itemized account to the Chairman of the Publication Committee.

A Committee of the Board laid before the meeting of the Board of U. A. H. C. on July 2, a plan for the establishing of people's synagogues in large cities. The Union voted \$500.00 for that purpose.

Upon the request of Rabbi M. J. Gries, a Committee was appointed to lay before this meeting a draft of a ritual for Sunday services.

Upon the request of Rabbi H. Berkowitz the Board granted a loan of \$50.00 to a colleague in distress.

The Board enforced the resolution, passed in Louisville, that the Treasurer should be bonded.

The Board requested the Board of the U. A. H. C. to allow the Sabbath School Union and the Committee on Circuit Preaching to become a part of the work of C. C. A. R. The U. A. H. C. declined the request.

The following were elected members of the Conference: Emil Ellinger, Alexandria, La.; Gerson Levi, Helena, Ark.; Julius Morgenstern, Lafayette, Ind.; Prof. M. Schloessinger, Cincinnati, O.; Jonah Wise, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Martin J. Meyer, Albany, N. Y.; E. Frisch, Pine Bluff, Ark.; Jos. Jasin, Ft. Worth, Tex.; Leonard J. Rothstein, Kalamazoo, Mich.; H. M. Ettelson, Ft. Wayne, Ind.; Jacob H. Kaplan, Albuquerque, N. M.; Max Merritt, Evansville, Ind.; Jos. H. Stolz, Cumberland, Md.

In appreciation of services rendered, the Board voted an ornately bound copy of the Union Prayer Book to Rev. Dr. I. S. Moses, of New York, and a copy of the Union Hymnal to Rev. A. Kaiser, of Baltimore.

The resignations of Maurice Eisenberg and Leon Nelson, who have left the pulpit, were accepted.

Thanking you for the honor you have bestowed upon me, I am,

Yours fraternally,

A. GUTTMACHER, *Recording Secretary.*

BALTIMORE, May 23, 1905.

Report of the Corresponding Secretary was received and ordered to be filed.

REPORT OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY FOR YEAR ENDING JULY 1, 1905.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

I herewith beg to present to your honorable body, a report of the work done by me during the past year, in the history of our organization. The work of the Corresponding Secretary is growing from year to year, not only in view of the increased membership of our Conference, but also on account of the larger scope of our organization. Your Corresponding Secretary's task would be greatly facilitated, if members were to read communications addressed to them, and not consign these to the waste basket. I have had occasion to send circular letters to a number of members, who, long after the receipt of their mail, complained to me in writing, of not having come into possession of necessary communications. I take it that all letters must have reached them, as letters have not been returned to my address.

I would suggest that as members move from place to place, or change their local residence, word be sent forthwith to the Corresponding Secretary, so that he might record such change, for the proper transmission of all correspondence.

Last year, as this year, a circular was sent to the Congregations in which our members officiate, asking them to defray the expenses to be incurred by the rabbis, in attending the Cleveland Conference. The favorable replies

have not been as many this year, as they were last. The following Congregations have pledged themselves to pay the expenses of their rabbis, in attending the Conference.

Cong. B'nai Sholom, Chicago Ill.
 North Chicago Hebrew Cong., Chicago, Ill.
 Cong. Emanuel, Davenport, Iowa.
 Cong. Bethel, Chicago, Ill.
 Cong. Achduth Vesholom, Ft. Wayne, Ind.
 Zion Cong. of West Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Cong. of Israel, Omaha, Neb.
 Temple Bethel, New York.
 Cong. B'nai Jeshurun, Newark, N. J.
 Temple Ahavath Chesed Shaar Hashomayim, New York.
 Cong. B'nai Brith, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Three congregations replied that as they will be without rabbis during the Cleveland Conference, they cannot act on our circular letter.

Since our meeting in Louisville, Ky., I have issued eighty-eight (88) vouchers, amounting to \$6802.03. I herewith append a list of vouchers issued.

I desire to bear testimony to the exactness, care, and readiness which Mr. Charles Bloch, the distributing agent of our literature evinced in the filling of all orders sent to him through me. His appointment was certainly a judicious step on the part of the Executive Board.

REPORT OF VOUCHERS.

1904.			
July 21.	No. 296.	To Max Margolis, typewriting memorandums..	\$ 25.00
21.	297.	Alois Kaiser, honorarium.....	50.00
21.	298.	H. G. Enelow, janitor and page services at Louisville Conference	15.00
21.	299.	A. Guttmacher, expenses at Atlantic City Executive Board Meeting	10.00
21.	300.	Max Margolis, expenses at Atlantic City Executive Board Meeting	9.00
21.	301.	Wm. Rosenau, expenses at Atlantic City Executive Board Meeting	10.00
21.	302.	Mrs. Moses Mielziner, pension for July, 1904	25.00
21.	303.	Mrs. Moses Mielziner, pension for August, 1904	25.00
21.	304.	Rev. J. Wechsler, pension for July.....	20.00
21.	305.	Rev. J. Wechsler, pension for August.....	20.00
21.	306.	Helen L. Schack, typewriting.....	6.50
21.	307.	Isaac S. Moses, freight and cartage	60.00
21.	308.	Friedenwald Co., printing and shipping.....	30.97

1904.

July	24.	No. 309.	Jos. Krauskopf, expenses to Baltimore.....	\$ 2.25
	25.	310.	Jos. Mayer (H. U. C.), packing and shipping Year Books	3.00
	25.	311.	A. Guttmacher, packing Year Books and Incidentals	4.45
	25.	312.	W. C. Furnas, reporting Louisville Conference	105.00
	25.	313.	Rev. J. Wechsler, pension for September..	20.00
	25.	314.	Mrs. Moses Mielziner, pension for September	25.00
	25.	315.	Helen L. Schack, typewriting:.....	13.10
Sept.	28.	316.	Rev. J. Wechsler, pension for October....	20.00
	28.	317.	Mrs. Moses Mielziner, pension for October..	25.00
	28.	318.	Friedenwald Co., printing of stationery and additional copies of President's Message...	20.90
	28.	319.	Friedenwald Co., reprint of Margolis' paper.	226.63
	28.	320.	H. G. Enelow, postage during Louisville Conference	5.00
	28.	321.	I. S. Moses, commission to August 31.....	92.78
	28.	322.	Stettiner Bros., N. Y., ptg. 6000 Union Prayer Books and freight on plates from Chicago	210.00
	28.	323.	Stettiner Bros., N. Y., English finish paper for Prayer Books	369.72
	28.	324.	Stettiner Bros., N. Y., ptg. 3000 Evening and Morning Service Books	36.00
	28.	325.	Williams & Co., N. Y., binding of books....	1690.88
	28.	326.	Wm. Rosenau, postage.....	5.00
Oct.	24.	327.	Helen L. Schack, stenographer and typewriting	13.50
	24.	328.	Rev. J. Wechsler, pension for November....	20.00
	24.	329.	Mrs. Moses Mielziner, pension for November	25.00
	24.	330.	Hy. Berkowitz, loan to colleague in distress	50.00
	24.	331.	A. Guttmacher, expenses in attending Philadelphia Executive Board meeting and postage	5.00
Nov.	2.	332.	Isaac S. Moses, commissions.....	103.08
	2.	333.	Friedenwald Co., wrapping and posting Margolis' reprint	13.00
	2.	334.	Friedenwald Co., publishing Year Book, 1904	450.93
	30.	335.	Wm. Rosenau, postage.....	5.00
	30.	336.	Rev. J. Wechsler, pension for December....	20.00
	30.	337.	Mrs. M. Mielziner, pension for December...	25.00

1904.		
Nov. 30.	No. 338.	I. S. Moses, commission on cash received to November 10\$ 307.11
30.	339.	Friedenwald Co., cards and ptg..... 3.75
30.	340.	Helen L. Schack, typewriting..... 11.05
1905.		
Jan. 1.	341.	Rev. J. Wechsler, pension for January, 1905. 20.00
1.	342.	Mrs. M. Mielziner, pension for January, 1905. 25.00
1.	343.	Helen L. Schack, stenography and postage.. 3.75
26.	344.	J. Wechsler, pension for February..... 20.00
26.	345.	Mrs. M. Mielziner, pension for February.... 25.00
26.	346.	Wm. C. Popper Co., hymnals and stamping. 501.80
26.	347.	Toby Rubovitz, circular letters and envelopes 5.00
26.	348.	Hy. Berkowitz, expenses of Haggadah Committee 15.28
26.	349.	Isaac S. Moses, commission and outlays.... 98.81
31.	350.	I. J. Garfinkel, work done for Committee on Synod Publication 50.00
Feb. 12.	351.	H. S. Stollnitz, refund of initiation fee.... 5.00
12.	352.	Chas. S. Levi, postage, printing, clerk hire, etc. 28.00
12.	353.	A. Guttmacher, typewriting of Haggadah material 1.80
12.	354.	Chas. A. Rubenstein, typewriting of Haggadah material 4.00
28.	335.	Mrs. M. Mielziner, pension for March..... 25.00
28.	356.	Rev. J. Wechsler, pension for March..... 20.00
28.	357.	Helen L. Schack, stenography and typewriting 6.60
Apr. 4.	358.	Rev. J. Wechsler, pension for April..... 20.00
4.	359.	Mrs. J. Mielziner, pension for April..... 25.00
4.	360.	Wm. Rosenau, postage 5.00
4.	361.	Jos. Krauskopf, trip to Baltimore, Executive Board Meeting 2.00
4.	362.	Wm. Rosenau, postage..... 5.00
24.	363.	A. Guttmacher, trip to Philadelphia, Executive Board Meeting and incidentals..... 6.50
24.	364.	Friedenwald Co., mdse..... 1.20
24.	365.	Helen L. Schack, stenography work and postage 13.80
24.	366.	Williams & Co., binding Union Prayer Books 122.50
24.	367.	Mrs. M. Mielziner, pension for May..... 25.00
24.	368.	Rev. J. Wechsler, pension for May..... 20.00
24.	369.	Wm. Rosenau, postage..... 5.00
May 30.	370.	Friedenwald Co., letter-heads and printing.. 4.50
30.	371.	Chas. S. Levi, postage..... 10.00

1905.

May 30.	No. 372.	Gibbons, Dickelman, Furst & Burke, bond of treasurer	\$ 60.00
30.	373.	H. G. Enelow, trip to Cincinnati for Synod Committee work	8.00
30.	374.	P. Ringer & Hertzberg, binding Moses Prayer Books and Kaiser Hymnal	50.00
30.	375.	A. Guttmacher, expenses of Haggadah Committee	27.45
30.	376.	Mrs. M. Mielziner, pension for June	25.00
30.	377.	Rev. J. Wechsler, pension for June	20.00
30.	378.	Helen L. Schack, stenography and type-writing	13.60
30.	379.	Mrs. M. Mielziner, pension for July	25.00
30.	380.	Rev. J. Wechsler, pension for July	20.00
June 6.	381.	Stettiner Bros., printing of Union Prayer Books, etc.	508.50
6.	382.	The Friedenwald Co., Synod Publication	679.28
6.	383.	M. Solzmann, Haggadah expenses	6.06
6.	384.	Helen L. Schack, clerical work and type-writing	5.00
Total			\$6802.03

Before closing, I desire to express my regrets at my inability to attend the Cleveland meeting. With best wishes for the continued growth of the C. C. A. R., both in numbers and influence, I am,

Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM ROSENAU, *Cor. Sec.*

Report of the Treasurer was read and referred to the Auditing Committee, together with the report of an expert accountant.

ANNUAL REPORT OF TREASURER, JULY 1, 1904—JULY 1, 1905.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, July 2, 1905.

To the Honorable President, Officers and Members of the C. C. A. R.

Gentlemen.—I have the honor of presenting to your distinguished body the annual report of your Treasurer for the year ending July 1, 1905, and invite your earnest consideration of its contents.

Let me at first give a brief summary of our financial transactions during the year. Our receipts from various sources, from dues, interests, and sale of publications, were \$7135.62; our expenditures for all purposes, for commissions, general expenses, printing the Year Book, and new editions of our publications, were \$6707.04, thus adding to our cash assets \$428.58 and raising our total funds to \$13,449.58. The interest on our investments of \$12,000.00

was \$645.00. Our income from sales of the Union Prayer Book, the Hymnal, and other publications amounted to \$5763.12, out of which \$661.79 were paid for commissions and \$3489.40 for new editions of our Prayer Books and Hymnals, showing an excess of income over expenditures of \$1611.93, which was transferred in equal amounts to the General and Ministers' Funds. The Ministers' Fund is now \$9942.25, being an increase of \$899.72 for the year, while the General Fund is now \$3507.33, showing a decrease of \$471.14. Receipts from dues, \$727.50.

All vouchers drawn up to July 1 have been paid. Unpaid dues up to date amount to \$725.00. Due bills were sent out three times during the year, nevertheless 88 members owe from five to twenty-five dollars.

MEMBERS AND DUES.

July 1, 1904, Total Membership	170
Honorary Members	3
Resigned during the year.....	2
Elected during the year.....	19
Died during year	1
July 1, 1905, Total number of Members.....	186
Dues remitted to July, 1904.....	4
Exempt from paying dues.....	5
July 1, 1905, Number of Pay Members.....	179
Dues of 119 Members.....	\$727.50
Dues of 88 Members unpaid.....	725.00
Members clear on the books.....	91
Members in good standing but owing \$5.00.....	47
Members liable to suspension for arrears.....	41

I now present in detail a tabulated statement of all moneys received and paid out during the year.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES.

RECEIPTS.

July 1, 1904, to July 1, 1905, Dues of Members.....	\$727.50
1905, Jan., Interest on \$9,500.00 at 6%, 6 mos.....	285.00
June 22, Interest on \$2,500.00 at 3%, one year.....	75.00
July 1, Interest on \$9,500.00 at 6%, 6 mos.....	285.00
	<hr/> \$1,372.50

FROM PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

1904, Sept. 26, I. S. Moses.....	\$ 618.57
Nov. 1, I. S. Moses.....	687.26
Nov. 28, I. S. Moses	2,047.44

1905, Jan. 3, Bloch Publishing Co.....	\$300.00
Jan. 24, Bloch Publishing Co.....	200.00
Jan. 24, I. S. Moses.....	258.72
March 3, Bloch Publishing Co.....	200.00
May 2, Bloch Publishing Co.....	250.00
May 23, Bloch Publishing Co.....	250.00
June 12, Bloch Publishing Co.....	355.87
	<hr/> \$5,167.86

FROM ALOIS KAISER. SALE OF HYMNALS.

1904, August 28	\$563.26
November 28	12.00
December 15	20.00
	<hr/> 595.26
	<hr/> \$7,135.62

EXPENDITURES.

COMMISSIONS TO I. S. MOSES, AGENT.

1904, Aug. 1, Freight and Cartage.....	\$60.01
October 4	92.78
December 15	103.08
December 15	307.11
1905, Jan. 29	98.81
	<hr/> \$601.78

NEW EDITIONS OF PRAYER BOOKS.

1904, Oct. 4, Stettiner Bros., printing 6000 Vol. II, freight and plates	\$210.00
Oct. 4, Stettiner Bros., 99 8/20 reams paper.....	369.72
Oct. 4, Stettiner Bros., printing 3000 Evening and Morning Services	36.00
Oct. 4, Stettiner Bros., binding 2000 Service Books, 5150 Prayer Books	1,690.88
1905, May 2, Williams & Co., binding 1000 Prayer Books..	122.50
June 5, P. Ringer & Herzberg, binding.....	50.00
June 12, Stettiner Bros., printing 5000 Vol. I.....	508.50
	<hr/> 2,987.60

NEW EDITION OF HYMNAL.

1905, Jan. 29, Wm. C. Popper & Co., 2459 Hymnals and stamp	\$501.80
	<hr/> 501.80
	<hr/> \$4,151.19

GENERAL EXPENSES.

1904, Aug. 1, Max Margolis, writing MSS.....	\$25.06
Aug. 1, H. G. Enelow, janitor service.....	15.00
Aug. 1, A. Guttmacher, Ex. Meeting.....	10.00
Aug. 1, M. Margolis, Ex. Meeting.....	9.00
Aug. 1, Wm. Rosenau, Ex. Meeting.....	10.00
Aug. 1, Helen Schack, typewriting.....	6.50
Aug. 1, Friedenwald Co., printing reports.....	30.97
Aug. 1, Jos. Krauskopf, expenses.....	2.25
Sept. 7, Jos. Mayer, expressage	3.00
Sept. 7, A. Guttmacher, expressage	4.45
Sept. 7, W. C. Furnas, stenographing Conference.....	105.00
Oct. 4, Helen Schack, typewriting and postage.....	13.10
Oct. 4, Friedenwald Co., stationery and printing.....	20.90
Oct. 4, Friedenwald Co., reprinting Margolis paper....	226.63
Oct. 4, Wm. Rosenau, postage	5.00
Nov. 4, Helen Schack, stenographing and postage....	13.50
Nov. 4, H. G. Enelow, postage	5.00
Nov. 4, Adolph Guttmacher, postage, exp.....	5.00
Dec. 15, Friedenwald Co., wrapping and postage.....	13.00
Dec. 15, Friedenwald Co., printing Year Book.....	450.93
Dec. 15, Wm. Rosenau, postage	5.00
Dec. 15, Friedenwald Co., printing cards	3.75
Dec. 15, Helen Schack, typewriting	11.05
1905, Jan. 11, Helen Schack, postage, carbon paper.....	3.75
Jan. 29, H. Berkowitz, Haggadah expenses.....	15.28
Jan. 29, T. Rubovitz, letters and envelopes.....	5.00
Feb. 7, I. J. Garfinkel, Synod literature.....	50.00
Feb. 15, C. S. Levi, expense, printing, postage.....	28.00
Feb. 15, A. Guttmacher, Haggadah expenses.....	1.80
Feb. 15, C. A. Rubenstein, Haggadah expenses.....	4.00
March 9, Helen Schack, stenographing	6.60
April 11, Wm. Rosenau, postage	5.00
April 11, Jos. Krauskopf, expenses	2.00
April 17, Wm. Rosenau, postage	5.00
May 2, A. Guttmacher, expenses	6.50
May 2, Friedenwald Co., merchandise	1.20
May 2, Helen Schack, stenography	13.80
May 2, Wm. Rosenau, postage	5.00
June 5, Friedenwald Co., printing letter heads.....	4.50
June 5, C. S. Levi, postage	10.00
June 5, Gibbon, Dickelman & Co., insurance bond...	60.00
June 5, H. G. Enelow, expenses	8.00
June 5, A. Guttmacher, Haggadah expenses.....	27.45

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

1905, June 5, Helen Schack, typewriting.....	\$13.60	
June 5, Friedenwald Co., 5000 Synod pamp., postage.	679.28	
June 12, Marcus Salzman, Haggadah expenses	6.06	
June 12, Helen Schack, typewriting	5.00	
	<hr/>	\$1,960.85

DUES RETURNED.

1905, February 15	\$5.00	
	<hr/>	5.00

MINISTERS' ALLOWANCE.

July 1, 1904, to July 1, 1905.....	\$590.00	
	<hr/>	590.00
Total disbursements.....		\$6,707.04

SUMMARY.

July 1, 1904, Total Funds	\$13,021.00
July 1, 1904, to July 1, 1905, total receipts.....	7,135.62
July 1, 1904, to July 1, 1905, total disbursements.....	6,707.04
July 1, 1905, Net increase of funds	428.58
July 1, 1905, Total funds in Treasury	13,449.58

GENERAL FUND.

To this fund is transferred one-half of membership dues, one-half of net profits of publications, and one-half of interests received. All general expenses are paid out of this fund.

RECEIPTS.

July 1, 1904, Amount of fund	\$3,978.47
July 1, 1905, Membership dues	\$361.25
July 1, 1905, Interest	322.50
July 1, 1905, Profits of Prayer Books.....	759.23
July 1, 1905, Profits of Hymnal	46.73
	<hr/>
	\$1,489.71

EXPENDITURES.

July 1, 1905, General expenses	\$1,960.85	
	<hr/>	\$1,960.85
July 1, 1905, Decrease of fund	\$471.14	
July 1, 1905, Balance in fund		\$3,507.33

INDIGENT MINISTERS' FUND.

To this fund is credited one-half of membership dues, of interests and of profits; only stipends and pensions are paid out of it.

RECEIPTS.

July 1, 1904, Amount of fund	\$9,042.53
July 1, 1905, Membership dues	\$361.25
July 1, 1905, Interests	322.50
July 1, 1905, Profits of Prayer Book	759.24
July 1, 1905, Profits of Hymnal	46.73
	<hr/>
	\$1,489.72

EXPENSES.

July 1, 1904, to July 1, 1905, Ministers' allowance.....	\$590.00
	<hr/>
	\$590.00
July 1, 1905, Increase of fund	\$899.72
July 1, 1905, Balance in fund	\$9,942.25
July 1, 1905, Total of General and Ministers' Funds.....	\$13,449.58

INVESTMENT OF FUNDS.

July 1, 1905, Building bonds at 6%.....	\$9,500.00
June 22, 1904, Certificate of deposit at 3%.....	2,500.00
July 1, 1905, Balance in Com. Germ. Nat. Bank.....	1,449.58
July 1, 1905, Total moneys	\$13,449.58

Accompanying this annual report are all books, vouchers, receipts, and papers held in trust, also the statement of Mr. W. B. Woolner, expert accountant.

Thanking you most heartily for the office of trust and honor which your Treasurer has held during the last five years, I remain with sincere congratulations upon the financial solidarity of our organization,

Most respectfully yours,

CHARLES S. LEVI, *Treasurer.*

P. S.—Since concluding above report I have received from the Publication Committee \$401.60, and from membership dues \$20.00, which makes sum total \$13,851.18, making balance cash in bank \$1,851.18.

REPORT OF EXPERT ACCOUNTANT.

	July 1, 1904-July 1, 1905.	Disbursements.	Receipts.	Minister's Fund.		General Fund.		Minister's Fund.		General Fund.		Total Funds.	
148	Dues.....	\$5.00	\$727.50	.....	\$361.25	.....	\$361.25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
157	Interest.....	.....	645.00	.....	322.50	.....	322.50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
145	Prayer Book Acct.....	3,649.39	5,167.86	.....	759.24	.....	759.24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
159	Union Hymnal Acct.....	501.80	595.26	.....	46.73	.....	46.73	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
140	General Expense.....	1,960.85	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
154	Minis. Fund Expense.....	590.00	.....	\$590.00	.....	\$1,960.85	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Gain.....	428.58	.....	899.72	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Loss.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Minis. Fund, July 1, 1904	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$9,042.58	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	" " " 1, 1905	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Gain.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	899.72	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Gen'l Fund, July 1, 1904	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$3,978.47	.....	.....	.....
	" " " 1, 1905	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Loss.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Minister's Fund.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$9,942.25	.....
	General Fund.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,507.33	.....
	German Am. Nat'l Bk.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$1,449.58
	Exchange & Certificate.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13,000.00
		\$7,135.62	\$7,135.62	\$1,439.72	\$1,439.72	\$1,960.85	\$1,960.85	\$9,942.25	\$9,942.25	\$3,978.47	\$3,978.47	\$13,449.58	\$13,449.58

Report of the Publication Committee, together with the report of an expert accountant, was submitted; the former was ordered corrected, and both referred to a special auditing committee.

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

CLEVELAND, July 3, 1905.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

The Publication Committee, entrusted with the printing of the Union Prayer Book and the Union Hymnal, and with the handling of all the publications of the C. C. A. R., begs leave to report as follows for the twelve months beginning June 1, 1904, and ending May 31, 1905.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee, held at the conclusion of the Louisville Conference, Isaac S. Moses and Alois Kaiser, of their own volition, expressed the desire to relinquish the handling of the Union Prayer Book and the Union Hymnal, respectively. Thereupon, the Executive Committee entered into an arrangement with the Bloch Publishing Company, of New York, by which we contract and pay for all the publications and have the keeping of the plates, while they, in return for a commission of 10 per cent on the sales, act as our sole agents for the sale, distribution, marketing, and storing of all our publications, keeping the stock insured and absolving us from all liability for debts. The following is a

COPY OF THE CONTRACT.

This agreement, made this first day of August, 1904, between the CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS, an association of ministers of the Jewish religion, duly organized under the laws of the State of Ohio, party of the first part, and the BLOCH PUBLISHING COMPANY (Charles E. Bloch, proprietor), of the City and State of New York, party of the second part, in consideration of the sum of one dollar, by each party to the other paid, and of the mutual promises herein contained, and of other good and valuable considerations, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, witnesseth that:

First. The party of the first part, being desirous of selling, distributing, and finding a ready market for its publications in large and small quantities to congregations and others, hereby agrees to appoint and by these presents does appoint, constitute, and make the party of the second part its sole and exclusive agent for the sale, distribution, and marketing of its publications upon the terms and conditions hereinafter mentioned. The party of the first part hereby agrees not to sell any of its publications except through the party of the second part.

Second. The party of the first part hereby agrees to allow to the party of the second part in compensation for his services a discount of thirty per

centum from the list prices of all of its publications, with the exception that on the Union Hymnal, a publication of the party of the first part, a discount of forty per centum from the list price shall be allowed to the party of the second part by the party of the first part.

By "list price" or "list prices" as used in this agreement shall be meant the price or prices as established by the party of the first part at the time this agreement is signed.

Third. The party of the second part is willing and hereby agrees to become the sole and exclusive agent for the sale, distribution, and marketing of the publications of the party of the first part upon the terms and conditions set forth, and to give to the publications of the party of the first part the same reasonable publicity which the party of the second part gives to its own publications.

Fourth. The party of the second part hereby agrees to absolve the party of the first part from all liability for debts due on any of the publications of the party of the first part sold by the party of the second part.

Fifth. The party of the second part hereby agrees to keep his stock on hand of the publications of the party of the first part adequately insured in the name and for the benefit of the party of the first part, and to pay the premiums on such insurance for the purpose of keeping it binding and valid.

By "stock on hand" shall be meant that part of the publications of the party of the first part remaining unsold at any given time in the place of business of the party of the second part.

Sixth. The party of the second part hereby agrees to keep and maintain a special record, on his books, of all the publications of the party of the first part, sold in quantities to congregations and others, and to keep and maintain a list of such congregations and others as purchase the publications of the party of the first part in quantities.

Seventh. The party of the second part hereby agrees to place his books, in so far as they relate to his transactions in the publications of the party of the first part, open to inspection by the party of the first part, at any time.

Eighth. The party of the second part hereby agrees to render a statement of his account with the party of the first part, and to make the remittances involved therein, if any such shall be due to the party of the first part, at the end of every three months during the term of this agreement, beginning from the fifteenth day of October, 1904.

Ninth. The party of the second part hereby agrees to make no deviation from the list price or list prices of the publications of the party of the first part, and to sell the publications of the party of the first part at the list price or list prices established by the party of the first part.

Tenth. This agreement shall take effect and be in force on the fifteenth day of October, 1904, and continue in force to and including the fifteenth day of October, 1905. If any part of the publications of the party of the first part

shall be placed in the place of business of the party of the second part before the time when this agreement shall begin to take effect (viz., the fifteenth day of October, 1904), such part of the publications of the party of the first part shall be dealt with and be subject in all respects to the terms and conditions of this agreement, as if the same had already begun to take effect.

In witness whereof the party of the first part has caused these presents to be signed in duplicate by its president and his and its seals to be hereto affixed, and the party of the second part has hereunto set his hand, trade name, and seal, the day and the year first above written.

In the presence of—

As to Joseph Krauskopf:
(Signed) LINDA STRAUSS.

JOS. KRAUSKOPF.

As to Charles E. Bloch:
(Signed) ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

BLOCH PUBLISHING CO.,
Charles E. Bloch,
Proprietor.

The Bloch Publishing Co. did not take charge of our business until October 15, 1904. This report will, therefore, treat separately of our dealings with Isaac S. Moses and with the Bloch Publishing Co. and will, for the first time, include a report on the Union Hymnal.

A. UNION PRAYER BOOK.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held in Chicago on January 17, 1905, the following final report was submitted by Isaac S. Moses, approved by A. M. Bettman, expert accountant, and accompanied by a check for \$2872.47.

NEW YORK, December 31, 1904.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS.

Gentlemen:—In relinquishing my position as secretary of your honorable body, I beg herewith to give a final accounting of my stewardship for the period of six (6) months past, by handing you the inventory of books on hand, which number called for by the account was transferred to the Bloch Publishing Company, and duly receipted for by them. The report as to cash receipts and disbursements show amount due the treasurer of \$2058.72, which will be transmitted in due course of time, as hitherto done. The accounts receivable show outstanding at this date \$785.46, which I am endeavoring to collect, and will remit to your treasurer such amounts as received from time to time, until all accounts have been settled.

Very respectfully,

I. S. MOSES.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

INVENTORY OF BOOKS, DECEMBER 31, 1904.

	Cloth.		Leather.		Morocco.		Ex. Morocco.		Unbound Books.		Sabbath Service.	Bound Sermons.	Unbound Sermons.	Mourning Mourners.
	Vol. 1	Vol. 2	Vol. 1	Vol. 2	Vol. 1	Vol. 2	Vol. 1	Vol. 2	Vol. 1	Vol. 2				
On hand June 1, 1904.....	1948	495	877	877	17	528	1	54	874	644	528	99	985	9038
Additional	1000	2650	960	800	250	.....	260	250	.....	6000	2000	.....	.....	.....
Returned	14	68	2	2	1	.....	10	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	8002	8194	1839	1179	268	528	261	315	874	6444	2528	99	985	9038
Bound.....									Bound.	Bound.	410	19	.....	Bound.
9038	1868	1909	121	289	14	28	54	58	2680	8180	.....	.....	.....	9038
.....	.....	.....	24	26	2	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	1	.....
Given away .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
On hand Dec. 31, 1901	1780	1194	1144	464	251	599	233	293	124	1314	2112	120	904	903

ALF. M. HINTMAN, ACCOUNTANT.

SALES ACCOUNT.

July, 1904	\$ 904.17
August, 1904	776.50
September, 1904	890.80
October, 1904	301.00

Total.....\$2,872.47

New York, Dec. 31, 1904.

ABE. M. BETTMAN, *Accountant.*

ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE.

Various accounts outstanding, in process of collection....\$285.46

Examined and found correct.

New York, Dec. 31, 1904.

ABE. M. BETTMAN, *Accountant.*

RECEIPTS.

Balance, June 1, 1904, as per Report, pages 60-63.....	\$ 859.71
June (see note).....	254.20
July	5.60
August	358.77
September	259.07
October 1-15	428.22
October 16-31	2,047.44
November	44.37
December	217.52

\$4,474.90

DISBURSEMENTS.

June 8, Chas. Levi, as per Re- port, pages 60-63.....	\$ 862.91
Sept. 13, Chas. Levi.....	618.57
Oct. 18, Chas. Levi.....	687.26
Nov. 10, Chas. Levi.....	2,047.44
	<hr/>
	\$4,216.18
Balance due Treasurer....	258.72
	<hr/>
	\$4,474.90

NOTE.—Receipts of June, an item of \$3.20 was credited twice on cash book, but as there was similar amount due your secretary on June 8, the sum apparently appears to be liquidated, but such is not the case. The actual receipts were \$251, and overpayment will show in remittance to treasurer Sept. 13, covering June, July, and August receipts. Remittance of Oct. 18 should have been \$687.29, as per receipts of September to October 15, thus showing short payment of 3 cents, leaving net balance due your secretary \$3.17, which is deducted from amount to be forwarded to your treasurer, as per balance due, noted above.

New York, Dec. 31, 1904.

ABE. M. BETTMAN, *Accountant.*

On June 20, 1905 (after the closing of the treasurer's books), a check was received from Isaac S. Moses for \$120.70, less 15 per cent commission, and

the outstanding accounts, amounting to \$164.76, were transferred to the Bloch Publishing Co. This liquidates our account with Isaac S. Moses, who for ten years was the faithful and efficient secretary of the Committee. In recognition of his services, the Executive Committee sent him a de luxe copy of the prayer book, bound by Ringer & Hertzberg, a veritable work of art, containing the following inscription:

ONE GENERATION PRAISES THY WORK TO ANOTHER.

PRESENTED TO

RABBI ISAAC S. MOSES

BY THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF HIS LOVING, FAITHFUL, AND CONSECRATED SERVICES
IN THE PREPARATION, PUBLICATION, AND DISTRIBUTION
OF THE UNION PRAYER BOOK.

On October 15, 1904, the Bloch Publishing Co. took complete charge of our publications, and we submit their report from the above date until May 31, 1905, inclusive.

BLOCH PUBLISHING CO. REPORT.

NEW YORK, June 3, 1905.

We submit herewith a statement of our account with the Central Conference of American Rabbis. We have endeavored to make the report as comprehensive as possible.

Schedule A shows the number of books delivered to us by Dr. Moses and others, with the prices at which they are charged to us.

Schedule B is a priced inventory of stock on hand on May 31, 1905.

Schedule C shows the number of books sold by us and the amount due therefrom to the Conference.

Schedule D gives the monthly sales and our remittances.

Schedule E is a summary, which would suffice for publication purposes.

Schedule F is the list of books, etc., charged back to the Conference at cost price. The orders for same were received from various members of the Executive Committee.

We also enclose a list of congregations which have adopted the Union Prayer Book since last September, so far as we are able to tell. We also give a list of such purchasers who bought in quantities.

In order to have our payments made in full to April 1, 1905, we enclose our check for \$355.87, dated May 31, so as to include it in this report. There remains unpaid our sales for April and May, which will be remitted in June and July.

We take the liberty of suggesting that some disposition be made of the Year Books, Sermons, and Reprints. The sale of such books is practically confined to the rabbis, and as many of these receive complimentary copies, there remains but little opportunity for their sale. They have no marketable value and might, therefore, be distributed gratuitously or disposed of otherwise.

It may interest you to know that the Hebrew Orphan Asylum of this city has placed an order for 500 copies of Volume I of the Union Prayer Book, which order will be delivered some time in June.

Our earnest endeavor has been to give prompt and efficient service and we believe that we have given such with but little friction or dissatisfaction.

With thanks for the uniform courtesy and kindness that have been extended to us by the members of your board, we are,

Very truly yours,

BLOCH PUBLISHING CO.,

Chas. C. Bloch.

SCHEDULE A.

BOOKS, ETC., RECEIVED FROM THE CONFERENCE

1776	Union Prayer Books,	I, cloth,	@ \$.70.....	\$1,243.20
1204	"	"	I, leather,	1.05..... 1,264.20
260	"	"	I, morocco,	1.40..... 364.00
236	"	"	I, extra morocco,	1.75..... 413.00
1405	"	"	II, cloth,	.70..... 983.50
931	"	"	II, leather,	1.05..... 977.55
491	"	"	II, morocco,	1.40..... 687.40
309	"	"	II, extra morocco,	1.75..... 540.75
2310	Sabbath Evening and Morning Service,		.17½.....	404.25
762	Week Day Service,		.17½.....	133.35
2459	Union Hymnals,		.30.....	737.70
2395	Year Books, paper,		.35.....	838.25
49	Year Books, cloth,		.70.....	34.30
934	Sermons of American Rabbis, paper,		.25.....	233.50
82	Sermons of American Rabbis, cloth,		.85.....	69.70
501	Margolis' Reprint,		.35.....	175.35

Total.....\$9,100.00

SCHEDULE B.

STOCK INVENTORY, MAY 31, 1905.

639	Union Prayer Books, I, cloth,	@ \$.70.....	\$ 485.10
991	" " " I, leather,	1.05.....	1,040.55
173	" " " I, morocco,	1.40.....	242.20
115	" " " I, extra morocco,	1.75.....	201.25
1212	" " " II, cloth,	.70.....	848.40
855	" " " II, leather,	1.05.....	897.75
453	" " " II, morocco,	1.40.....	634.20
198	" " " II, extra morocco,	1.75.....	346.50
1754	Sabbath Evening and Morning Service,	.17½.....	306.95
738	Week Day Service,	.17½.....	129.15
247	Union Hymnals,	.30.....	74.10
2265	Year Books, paper,	.35.....	792.75
49	Year Books, cloth,	.70.....	34.30
921	Sermons of American Rabbis, paper,	.25.....	230.25
76	Sermons of American Rabbis, cloth,	.85.....	64.60
498	Margolis' Reprint,	.35.....	174.30
Total.....			\$6,502.35

Also:

- 1875 Pamphlet III (Eve. Service for Week Day), paper covers, for use by
Field Secretary.
- 22 Ehrlich's Psalms.

SCHEDULE C.

SALES FROM OCTOBER 15, 1904, TO JUNE 1, 1905.

1083	Union Prayer Books, I, cloth,	@ \$.70.....	\$ 758.10
213	" " " I, leather,	1.05.....	223.65
87	" " " I, morocco,	1.40.....	121.80
121	" " " I, extra morocco,	1.75.....	211.75
193	" " " II, cloth,	.70.....	135.10
76	" " " II, leather,	1.05.....	79.80
38	" " " II, morocco,	1.40.....	53.20
111	" " " II, extra morocco,	1.75.....	194.25
556	Sabbath Evening and Morning Service,	.17½.....	97.30
24	Week Day Service,	.17½.....	4.20
2212	Union Hymnals,	.30.....	663.60
130	Year Books, paper,	.35.....	45.50
13	Sermons of American Rabbis, paper,	.25.....	3.25
6	Sermons of American Rabbis, cloth,	.85.....	5.10
3	Margolis' Reprint,	.35.....	1.05
Total.....			\$2,597.65

SCHEDULE D.
MONTHLY SALES.

1904 October	\$ 310.95
November	235.00
December	324.00
1905 January	228.50
February	118.25
March	339.22
April	291.60
May	498.00
	<hr/>
	\$2,345.52
*Conference Sales	252.13
	<hr/>
Total.....*	\$2,597.65

REMITTANCES.

December 21, 1904.....	\$ 300.00
January 12, 1905.....	200.00
February 17, 1905.....	200.00
April 27, 1905.....	250.00
May 15, 1905	250.00
May 31, 1905.....	355.87
	<hr/>
	\$1,555.87
*Charged to Conference.....	252.13
	<hr/>
Total.....*	\$1,808.00

*See Schedule F.

SCHEDULE E.

SUMMARY.

Total Books Received	\$9,100.00
Total Books on Hand.....	6,502.35
	<hr/>
Total Sales.....	\$2,597.65
Cash Remittances	\$1,555.87
Charged to Conference.....	252.13
	<hr/>
Total	1,808.00
	<hr/>
*Balance Due	\$ 789.65

*This balance represents the sales of April and May, which will be remitted in June and July.

SCHEDULE F.

BOOKS, ETC., CHARGED TO CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS.

The following items are books sent out on orders from the Conference. They are charged back to the Conference at the prices made to us, plus the expressage and other expenses incurred:

1904.

August	19—Freight and drayage on Year Books from Cincinnati.....	\$ 5.76
	25—Freight and drayage on Year Books from Baltimore.....	5.18
	27—To Prof. S. Schechter, 1 Year Book and postage.....	.42
Sept.	23—Expressage on Margolis' Reprint from Baltimore.....	3.20
Oct.	4—To J. H. Greenstone, 1 Margolis' Reprint and postage.....	.40
	27—To Geo. Zepin, 75 Union Hymnals, \$22.50; labels, etc., for same, \$1.25; expressage, \$0.75.....	24.50
Nov.	3—To Dr. Friedenwald and Jew. Libry. Asso., Balto., 2 Year Books, \$0.70; postage, \$0.30.....	1.00
	4—Freight on shipment from Baltimore.....	1.70
	10—Clergy Bureau, St. Louis, 1 Year Book and postage.....	.45
	21—Rabbi C. S. Levi, 6 Year Books, \$2.10; expressage, \$0.60...	2.70
	21—Rabbis Warsaw, Schreiber, and Prof. Sheldon, 3 Year Books, \$1.05; postage, \$0.35.....	1.40
Dec.	6—Messrs. Ochs, Sulzberger, Marshall, etc., 19 Year Books, \$6.65; postage, \$1.80.....	8.45
	8—Philipson's Reprint: Printing and pasting 400 labels, \$2.00; addressing and postage on 125 wrappers, \$2.00.....	4.00
	27—To Messrs. Schechter, Schiff, etc., 7 Year Books, \$3.15; expressage and postage, \$0.95.....	4.10
	29—To Emanu-El Brotherhood, New York City, 300 Hymnals, \$90; expressage, \$0.50.....	90.50

1905.

Jan.	25—To Cleveland Temple Library and St. Louis Library, 3 Year Books, \$1.05; postage, \$0.35.....	1.40
Feb.	14—To Messrs. Kopold, Gordon, Sapiro, etc., 4 Year Books, \$1.40; 1 Sermons, \$0.85; exp. and postage, \$0.50.....	2.75
	18—To Rabbi J. Morganstern, 1 Year Book and postage.....	.45
	20—To Dr. J. Stolz, 1 Union Hymnal and postage.....	.40
	21—To Rabbis Berkowitz, Gries, Enelow, Heller, and Franklin, expressage on unbound Union Prayer Books.....	1.20
March	2—To Theo. Seminary and H. U. C. students, 16 Year Books, \$5.60; 16 Sermons, \$4.00; expressage, \$2.75.....	12.35
	2—To various Universities and Seminaries, expressage and postage on 27 Ehrlich's Psalms, \$4.40; printing complimentary slips, etc., \$1.25.....	5.65

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

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1905.	
March 20—To Theo. Seminary and H. U. C. students, 6 Year Books, \$2.10; 6 Sermons, \$1.50; expressage, \$1.10.....	\$ 4.70
27—Return expressage on 3 Ehrlich's Psalms and resending to Edu. Alliance, Y. M. H. A., and Maimonides Library..	90
April 3—To Auburn Penitentiary, 24 Union Hymnals, \$7.20; 30 Union Prayer Books, 1, \$21.00; expressage, \$1.20.....	29.40
6—To Prof. Salter, Miss J. Goldberg, etc., 2 Year Books, \$0.70; 1 Sermons, \$0.85; postage, \$0.33.....	1.88
13—Allowance on 40 U. P. Books to Cleveland Jew. O. Asy...	4.00
15—To A. Sapiro, 1 Sermons and postage.....	.37
May 6—To S. Seeligman, Amsterdam, 1 Year Book and postage..	.45
10—Allowance on 36 U. P. Books to Jew. Orphan Home, New Orleans, La.	3.60
17—Prof. Southworth, Meadville, 1 Sermons and expressage..	1.02
26—N. Y. State Training School, 12 Union Prayer Books, \$8.40; expressage, \$0.40	8.80
31—To Rabbi M. J. Gries, 50 Year Books, \$17.50; expressage, \$1.10	18.60
31—To Jessie Cohen, 1 Year Book and postage.....	.45
Total.....	\$252.13

NEW CONGREGATIONS.

The Union Prayer Book has been introduced in the following congregations since September, 1904:

Sheffield, Ala.	Florence, Ala.
Newport News, Va.	Marianna, Ark.
Crowley, La.	Darlington, S. C.
Hallettsville, Texas.	Wilmington, N. C.
Bucyrus, Ohio.	Titusville, Pa.
Danville, Pa.	Oil City, Pa.
New Castle, Pa.	Galesburg, Ill.
Nacogdoches, Texas.	Williamsport, Pa.
Trenton, N. J.	Aberdeen, Miss.
Niagara Falls, N. Y.	Logansport, Ind.
Sumter, S. C.	Troy, N. Y.
Anderson, S. C.	Sandusky, Ohio.
Staunton, Va.	New Iberia, La.
Clinton, La.	Lake Charles, La.
Marlin, Texas.	West Point, Ga.
Great Falls, Mont.	Alexandria, Va.
Philadelphia, Pa. (Rabbi Raisin).	Cincinnati, O. (Rabbi Mielziner).

ORDERS IN QUANTITIES.

The following congregations and others purchased in quantities of ten or more:

UNION PRAYER BOOKS.

Mound St. Temple, Cincinnati, O.....	24
Rabbi J. Mielziner, Cincinnati, O.....	50
Mrs. Aletrino, New Orleans, La.....	12
Rabbi Max Raisin, St. Francisville, La.....	14
Rabbi I. Warsaw, Lake Charles, La.....	20
Rabbi S. G. Bottigheimer, Natchez, Miss.....	10
Rabbi Israel Klein, Helena, Mont.....	18
Jewish Congregation, Minneapolis, Minn.....	12
Congregation Beth El, Alexandria, Va.....	70
Congregation Brith Sholom, Nacogdoches, Texas.....	12
Rabbi Simon R. Cohen, Norfolk, Va.....	12
Leopold Morse Home, Mattapan, Mass.....	12
Indianapolis Hebrew Congregation, Indianapolis, Ind.....	35
A. Shultz, Staunton, Va.....	30
Congregation Beth El, Marlin, Texas.....	30
Congregation Emanuel, Crowley, La.....	25
Rabbi J. B. Grossman, Youngstown, O.....	12
Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, Baltimore, Md.....	15
Rabbi J. Klein, Sumter, S. C.....	13
Jewish Congregation, Hot Springs, Ark.....	24
Temple Israel, Wilmington, N. C.....	45
Congregation Beth Hashalam, Williamsport, Pa.....	81
Rabbi D. Klein, Columbus, O.....	10
Beth Emeth Congregation, Albany, N. Y.....	24
Jewish Congregation, Titusville, Pa.....	10
Jewish Orphan Asylum, Cleveland, O.....	40
Congregation Bnai Zion, Danville, Pa.....	57
Temple Beth El, New York City.....	31
Jewish Congregation, Galesburg, Ill.....	24
Jewish Orphans' Home, New Orleans, La.....	36
Rabbi J. B. Grossman, Youngstown, O.....	24
Congregation Emanu-El, San Francisco, Cal.....	90
J. Katzenelenbogen, New York City.....	19

UNION HYMNALS.

Congregation Bnai Jehudah, Kansas City, Mo.....	120
Temple Emanu-El, New York City.....	200
Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, Baltimore, Md.....	150
Temple Sinai, New Orleans, La.....	97

Beth Israel Congregation, Portland, Ore.....	12
Temple Israel, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	200
Temple Rodef Sholem, New York City.....	60
The Temple, Cleveland, O.....	250
Hand in Hand Congregation, New York City.....	18
Rabbi I. Rosenthal, Lancaster, Pa.....	36
Montefiore Congregation, Cairo, Ill.....	12
West End Synagogue, New York City.....	50
Temple Israel, Wilmington, N. C.....	34
J. H. Greenstone, Philadelphia, Pa.....	100
Rabbi L. Wolsey, Little Rock, Ark.....	12
Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo.....	60
Temple Beth El, New York City.....	100
Congregation Beth Abvah, Richmond, Va.....	100

EVENING AND MORNING SERVICE.

Plum St. Temple, Cincinnati, O.....	75
Avondale Sabbath School, Cincinnati, O.....	75
Rabbi I. E. Marcuson, Sandusky, O.....	12
Rabbi I. E. Philo, Akron, O.....	12
Congregation Emanuel, Helena, Mont.....	12
Emanu-El Brotherhood, New York City.....	100
Montefiore Congregation, Cairo, Ill.....	12
Rabbi Alfred G. Moses, Mobile, Ala.....	25
Rabbi L. Wolsey, Little Rock, Ark.....	12
Rabbi H. Levi, Wheeling, W. Va.....	12
Rabbi M. Cahan, Fort Smith, Ark.....	12
Rabbi A. B. Rhine, Hot Springs, Ark.....	12
Beth Israel Congregation, Portland, Ore.....	150
Jewish Congregation, Omaha, Neb.....	24
Temple Israel, New York City.....	24
Jewish Congregation, Jersey City, N. J.....	24
Congregation Bnai Zion, Danville, Pa.....	14

WEEK DAY SERVICE.

Congregation Emanuel, Helena, Mont.....	10
Rabbi C. J. Freund, Salt Lake City, Utah.....	12

NEW EDITION.

By order of the last Conference, and by authority of the Executive Committee, we published, during the year, a ninth edition consisting of 5000 copies of Vol. I, 6000 copies of Vol. II, and 3000 copies of the Morning and Evening

Service; 6150 copies of the Prayer Book and 2000 copies of the Evening and Morning Service were bound. The total cost of printing and binding was \$2937.60, viz.:

Stettiner Bros., printing 6000 Vol. II.....	\$ 210.00
Stettiner Bros., 99 8-20 reams of paper.....	369.72
Stettiner Bros., 3000 Morning and Evening Service.....	36.00
Williams & Co., binding 5150 Prayer Books, 2000 Evening and Morning Service	1,690.88
Williams & Co., binding 1000 Prayer Books.....	122.50
Stettiner Bros., printing 5000 Prayer Books, Vol. I.....	508.50

SALES.

During the year, 6472 volumes were disposed of, 1660 volumes more than were sold during the eleven months covered by the preceding report, viz.:

	Moses.	Bloch.
Vol. I.—Cloth	1252	1083
Leather	121	213
Morocco	14	87
Extra Morocco.....	54	121
		<hr/> 2945
Vol. II.—Cloth	1809	192
Leather	259	76
Morocco	23	38
Extra Morocco	52	111
		<hr/> 2561
Sabbath Service	410	556 966
		<hr/>
Total.....		6472

The total value of the sales amounted to \$4,751.62, viz.:

Moses (commissions not deducted).....	\$2,872.47
Bloch (commission deducted).....	1,879.15
	<hr/>
	\$4,751.62

which is \$791.97 more than was reported to the last Conference.

Our agents reported that 34 new congregations adopted the Union Prayer Book. Accordingly, our ritual is now used in 217 different congregations. Altogether, 68,696 copies have been sold, assuredly a creditable record for eleven years.

B. UNION HYMNAL.

The stock of Union Hymnals having been completely exhausted, a new edition of 2459 copies was printed and bound by William C. Popper & Co., at a cost of \$501.80.

2212 copies of these were sold, and since only 247 copies remain on hand, it will be necessary to print another edition of this book, which is endearing itself to the congregations of the land and is contributing much to the unification of our synagogal services throughout the land.

In appreciation of his valuable and unselfish services towards the realization of this desideratum, the Executive Committee presented Rev. Alois Kaiser a de luxe copy of the Union Hymnal bearing an inscription similar to the one contained in the books presented to Rabbi Moses.

C. YEAR BOOKS, SERMONS, AND REPRINTS.

The demand for these valuable publications is limited, and so few copies are sold that some method of distribution must be devised, lest it become burdensome to store the accumulations. We have missionary ambitions, and the Conference should suggest some systematic plan of distributing our publications among libraries, colleges, seminaries, synagogues, and such other places where they will be consulted and appreciated. The report of our agent shows that an attempt at such distribution has been made; yet there are larger possibilities.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

The Committee remitted to the Treasurer \$5772.05, an increase of \$1572.88, viz.:

Moses	\$4,216.18
Bloch (commission, deducted)	1,555.87
	<hr/>
	\$5,772.05

Our outstanding accounts amount to \$1075, a decrease of \$188.32, viz.:

Moses	\$ 285.46
Bloch	789.65
	<hr/>
	\$1,075.11

(N. B.—Moses having remitted \$120.71 since the closing of the books, the outstandings really amount to \$954.41.)

The following is a condensed statement of our financial status:

RECEIPTS.

June 1, 1904, to May 31, 1905.....\$5,772.05

DISBURSEMENTS.

To Treasurer

ASSETS.

Stock on hand (exclusive of 5000 copies of Vol. I in bindery).....\$6,502.35
 Accounts Receivable 1,075.11
 Plates 1,150.00

Total Assets\$8,727.46

LIABILITIES.

None.

The Committee begs leave to suggest to the Conference the following

RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. The renewal of the contract with the Bloch Publishing Co. for another year, on similar terms.
2. A new edition of 3000 copies of the Union Hymnal.
3. The authority to bind unbound copies of the Union Prayer Book, as needed.
4. A free distribution, according to some carefully devised plan, of our Year Books, Sermons, and Reprints.
5. A free distribution to libraries of the remaining copies of Ehrlich's Psalms purchased by the Conference.
6. The formulation of some rule governing a free distribution of our Prayer Books and Hymnals for the promotion of Jewish missionary activities.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH STOLZ.

JOSEPH SILVERMAN.

ISAAC S. MOSES.

NEW YORK, June 30, 1905.

REV. DR. JOSEPH SILVERMAN, TEMPLE EMANUEL, NEW YORK CITY.

Reverend Sir.—In accordance with your instructions, I have taken an inventory of the books now at the Bloch Publishing Company which belong to the Central Conference of American Rabbis. I have made an actual count of every volume, have opened every package and case, and submit herewith a list of the inventory thus taken.

Prayer Books, Cloth No. 1	1152
Prayer Books, Cloth No. 2	1139
Prayer Books, Leather No. 1	908
Prayer Books, Leather No. 2	751
Prayer Books, Morocco No. 1	172
Prayer Books, Morocco No. 2	452
Prayer Books, Flexible Morocco No. 1.....	111
Prayer Books, Flexible Morocco No. 2.....	240
Paper Sermons	920
Cloth Sermons	76
Margolis Reprints	493
Hymnals	127
Morning and Evening Service	1754
Week Day Service	736

9031

I understand that a report was rendered by Mr. Bloch on May 31, 1905. Since that date Mr. Bloch informs me that he has received 1000 volumes of Prayer Books, Cloth No. 1 and he has sold the following:

Prayer Books, Cloth No. 1	594
Prayer Books, Cloth No. 2	17
Prayer Books, Leather No. 1	86
Prayer Books, Leather No. 2	104
Prayer Books, Morocco No. 2	1
Prayer Books, Flexible Morocco No. 1.....	7
Prayer Books, Flexible Morocco No. 2.....	3
Hymnals	115
	<hr/>
	927

In order to compare our stock taking with the report which Mr. Bloch made on May 31, 1905, we will have to deduct from our stock list the 1000 volumes received since May 31, 1905, and add the sales as above. Upon doing this, a comparison of the inventory on hand at May 31, 1905, with the report which was submitted by Mr. Bloch, is as follows:

	Inventory	Report of Mr. Bloch	Over	Short
Prayer Books, Cloth No. 1	746	639	107	
Prayer Books, Cloth No. 2	1156	1212		56
Prayer Books, Leather No. 1	994	991	3	
Prayer Books, Leather No. 2	855	855		
Prayer Books, Morocco No. 1	172	173		1
Prayer Books, Morocco No. 2	453	453		
Prayer Books, Flexible Morocco No 1....	118	115	3	
Prayer Books, Flexible Morocco No. 2...	243	198	45	
Paper Sermons	920	921		1
Cloth Sermons	76	76		
Margolis Reprints	493	498		5
Hymnals	242	247		5
Morning and Evening Service	1754	1754		
Week Day Service	736	738		2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	8958	8870	158	70

Respectfully submitted,

LEON BRUMMER.

Report of the Committee on Membership Cards was received and adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP CARDS.

Central Conference of American Rabbis, Cleveland, Ohio:

Your Committee on Membership Cards desires to report that, in accordance with the instructions of the Louisville Conference, the cards have been printed and circulated among a number of congregations who have made application for them. About a dozen congregations have asked for them.

Your Committee recommends that the attention of the public be directed to these cards and to their use, in order that members of congregations will know that such cards are in existence, and that such congregational courtesy is offered by the various congregations throughout the country.

Your Committee likewise recommends that the Secretary be instructed to send a few of the membership cards to each congregation affiliated with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Sabbath School Union.

MOSES J. GRIES, *Chairman*,
WILLIAM ROSENAU,
ADOLF GUTTMACHER.

Report of the Sabbath Commission was read, and it was moved and carried that the recommendations be discussed separately.

Dr. Joseph Silverman reported as follows:

Your committee recommends:

I. That the observance of the Sabbath in the home be revived where it has been abandoned, and encouraged where it seems to be declining. Let the Conference urge that, in addition to welcoming the Sabbath by Friday evening services, it be also welcomed in the home by the "lights," the "Kiddush," the blessing of the children by the parents, and the gathering of the family and kindred.

II. That Sabbath Observance Leagues be organized, composed of adults as well as of children.

III. That such literature on Sabbath observance, as shall be deemed helpful in this propaganda, be made available by proper index or reprint.

IV. That appeals be made to business and professional men to observe the Sabbath and to respect the scruples of Jewish employes who desire to keep the seventh day holy.

V. That congregations be requested to induce their leading members and especially their officers and trustees to observe the Sabbath, and that members of religious school committees and teachers of religious schools be urged to set an example in Sabbath observance to the children of the schools.

VI. That the Jewish Women's Council, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Southern Rabbinical Conference and other societies be invited to co-operate in this movement, making for better Sabbath observance.

VII. That parents be urged, when making arrangements for private instruction to be imparted to their children, to have regard for the Sabbath and that Jewish private schools of a secular nature be requested to hold no sessions on Sabbath or holidays.

VIII. That strenuous efforts be made for a better observance of the Sabbath, at summer resorts, and that the Director of Synagogue Extension, or, some one else qualified for the task, be appointed to undertake the organization of summer congregations, and when this plan be not feasible, that the guests at summer resorts be requested to assemble in groups for religious services on the Sabbath.

IX. That in order to protect individuals or business houses that observe the Sabbath, steps be taken, when necessary, to secure for them immunity from the enforcement of Sunday legislation.

X. That a standing committee on Sabbath observance be appointed, whose duty it shall be to carry out the recommendations adopted by the Conference, and report annually, and that the Executive Committee be empowered to make the necessary appropriations for the maintenance of this propaganda.

These recommendations were endorsed by the other members of the committee—Drs. R. Grossman, Harris, Aaron, and Samfield.

Recommendation I, dealing with Home Observance of the Sabbath, was discussed:

RABBI C. LEVY said I amend this recommendation so that besides encouraging Friday evening services at home, the members of congregations be encouraged to attend services at the public services.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—The secret of the success and failure of Sabbath observance is found in the home. Many of the suggestions contained in the report of the committee are axiomatic to us as Rabbis. We all know that by the proper observance of the Sabbath in the home the children are imbued with a spirit of respect for the Sabbath.

RABBI STOLZ.—There are communities in both large and small cities which hold no public Friday evening services. There has been presented to us in the Sabbath School Hymnal a form of service for Friday evening adapted to home use. This I would recommend to those brethren not already familiar with it, with the belief that in time it will become valuable to them.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I do not wish to enter into a discussion of the merits and demerits of a Friday evening service. But for the sake

of fairness, I believe we ought to learn from our committee whether the Friday evening services or Sunday morning services are harmful to services held on the Sabbath day.

RABBI KOHLER.—I wish to inform you that the late Friday evening services are altogether an innovation, an innovation of a dubious character, in so far as they make those who attend it feel that they have done their duty toward the Sabbath.

RABBI SILVERMAN read *Recommendation II*, which was carried unanimously.

Discussion of *Recommendation III*:

RABBI HECHT.—I would like to ask, what the committee means by Sabbath observance? This is altogether too vague for me, and I would be very glad for some information on the point.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—The committee had that point under consideration, but deemed it inadvisable to make any definite expression on the point.

PRESIDENT.—Rabbi Hecht, you are asking for impossibilities.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—The committee could not decide what constitutes Sabbath observance, but could only urge Rabbis, Sunday school superintendents, and teachers to form such leagues, and the question as to the best methods for such observance will have to be decided by the leagues themselves.

RABBI ENELOW.—I am sincerely and strenuously opposed to this Conference spreading any such recommendation as is contained in the note to *Recommendation III* regarding the formation of Sabbath Observance Leagues, and also to the suggestion that members of such leagues should wear badges as a sign that they observe the Sabbath.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—The question before us is not that the children who keep the Sabbath should wear badges. This was appended to the recommendation, only as a suggestion, by one of the members of the committee. The recommendation deals with the formation of Sabbath Observance Leagues for Adults and Children.

RABBI KRANSNOWETZ.—Mr. President, if the committee that has considered this serious and important question has come to the conclusion, that they are not willing to make a statement as to what they consider to be a proper observance of the Sabbath, then how can a league, under the guidance of any Rabbi, make provisions for Sabbath observance?

RABBI SILVERMAN.—Three years ago we adopted a resolution which went before the whole country that you are compromised to the perpetuation of the historical Sabbath as a fundamental institution in Judaism. You appointed a committee for proposing practical measures for improving the observance of the Sabbath. They have studied this question very thoroughly, and presented certain ideas and recommendations. One of these, which we are now discussing, has to do with the organization of Sabbath Observance Leagues to further Sabbath observance both in the synagogue and in the home. The committee felt impelled to make this recommendation because outside of this Conference there is nobody whose duty it is to make propaganda for Sabbath observance. There is a small league in New York City which, I believe, exists more on paper than in fact. Gentlemen, you cannot afford to refuse to adopt this recommendation. It asks you to recommend to Sunday school superintendents and teachers that they observe the Sabbath and do their utmost to encourage their children to do likewise, and to create enthusiasm for Sabbath observance. I trust that you will not go before the country refusing to adopt such a measure.

RABBI GRIES.—I do not wish to discuss the question of Sabbath observance, as it has been discussed at previous Conferences. It is my judgment, that if the committee had prepared this report very carefully, they would have copies thereof printed for us to read and consider. Judging by the league in New York City, my own opinion of these leagues is, that they are a perfect farce. Dr. Mendes publishes annually in the New York Jewish papers an appeal for Sabbath observance, which seems to me to be the most pitiful thing I ever read. He prays, that even on the great holidays they should show some respect for their religion. If this is true of orthodox congregations and people, it seems to be as though we were trying

to change the current of events by trying to encourage Sabbath observance through these leagues.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—What I should like to prevent is what I considered almost a catastrophe which happened at Detroit. When the Sabbath question was up, you will remember, it was discussed in the closing hours of a long conference, and it was a wrong to the members of this Conference to have discussed it at that time and to decide this important question under those circumstances. To-day we are told by the chairman of this committee, that we are going to appear before the country, as though we decried and disapproved of Sabbath Observance Leagues. If this is the case, it is simply due to the fact, that this subject has been brought before us in this manner to-day. I believe, that Rabbi Gries is right, and if this thing is so important, it should have been printed. I do not believe in Sabbath Observance Leagues. What has been done in New York City? Nothing! Gentlemen, there is nothing new under the sun! When the Sabbath question was first discussed at Breslau in 1846, in a great public conference, Dr. Forchheimer recommended this very thing, that Sabbath Observance Leagues should be formed in German cities, and there the same objections were raised, because they saw, that this is not the way to revive the Sabbath. This is only a superficial thing. Let us get down to the root of the matter! We need something entirely different. There are economic, social, and other conditions to be changed, and the Sabbath observance will not be changed by Sabbath Observance Leagues. I would offer an amendment: That we refer this paragraph back to the committee to bring us another report as to how the Sabbath may be better observed.

Amendment was lost.

Upon being put to a vote, *Recommendation III* was lost.

Moved by Rabbi Schulman and carried, that the sentiment of the Conference is not opposed to the formation of Sabbath Observance Leagues, but that the vote just recorded be interpreted with reference to the advisability of this method of observing the Sabbath.

Upon motion, the above action was reconsidered, and an amendment was added to the motion, that the recommendation be referred back to the committee for reconsideration. (Carried.)

Recommendation IV.

RABBI KOHLER.—I judge that this paragraph in its purport is connected with the preceding one, and while we do not know what Sabbath observance means, I move that this paragraph be referred back to the committee.

RABBI RAPPAPORT.—There is already in existence for three thousand years a Sabbath Observance League. We want to form and organize Sabbath Observance Leagues in order to do what our fathers have done. I would, therefore, recommend as literature to that effect a study of the Fourth Commandment.

Motion to refer recommendation back to committee was lost.

RABBI ENELOW.—It seems to me that this is too serious a question for us to play with. This question has been before us ever since I first attended the Conference of Rabbis. I would say that we must not any longer play with this question. I would like to ask the gentlemen, what they mean to do with this question? I would like to know what they mean by literature regarding Sabbath observance? Do you mean a translation of the writings of the mediæval mystics, of the Schulchan Aruch? or do you mean something tangible, something that has a real relation to the problems of our day. I would like to act intelligently on this question, and I think this is no time for us to do a single thing, unless we want to know what we want to do in this matter. Literature on the Sabbath question means nothing definite. A journal on Sabbath Observance means nothing. You cannot publish a single thing on this question, unless you know definitely what you want the men and women of this country to observe. I would not make any recommendation. The recommendation for a better observance of the Sabbath is supported by my profoundest conviction. But I would advise that you ask yourselves what you mean by recommending one proposition or another. I would urge that we give this matter consideration, and that we do

not recommend anything which would appear before the country at large as unfeasible, impracticable, and insincere.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—The committee has brought in a report, which it considers as final. It is your place to discuss this report with all seriousness. The burden is not upon the committee, but upon you. This is a question of duty, and I do not think you will do your duty when you come here and speak thus.

RABBI ENELOW.—The main objection to the adoption of this report is that the best interests of this Conference prevent it.

Upon motion, further consideration of this report was postponed and was to be the first business of next morning's meeting.

Action taken regarding *Recommendation VI* of the President's message was reconsidered, and referred to the Committee on the President's Message.

MONDAY AFTERNOON.

Paper was read by Dr. Schwab (*vide* Appendix C).

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SYNODAL LITERATURE.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

The essential report of the Committee on Synodal Literature appointed by the Executive Committee in accordance with the resolution adopted at the meeting of the Conference at Louisville has been in the hands of each member of the Conference for some time. This report is the pamphlet of one hundred and sixty-one pages, entitled "Views on the Synod." Nothing more is necessary therefore than a few explanatory remarks. The Committee has attempted to be entirely impartial in their selection of opinions on the synod. Views for and against have been given equal prominence; no matter what the individual views of the members of the Committee, they have been kept entirely in the background. We had but one object in view, and that was to have the subject presented from as many different angles of thought as possible. Therefore the pros and the antis have been given equal opportunities to be heard. Our sources have been, for the most part, Jewish periodicals. We have not included all opinions that have been given expression to, but such only as appeared to us of particular weight because of the character of their authors. It will be noted also that we have omitted all individual opinions of members of our Conference on the subject as we did not desire

to show preference to any; the two seeming exceptions to this rule of procedure were made because of the official position of the writers; one is the opinion of the president of the Hebrew Union College written twenty-three years ago when the subject was agitated in the Rabbinical Literary Association, and the other is an editorial taken from the columns of a prominent Jewish journal.

The opinions have been arranged chronologically in order that the historical development of the subject in modern Jewish thought may be traceable.

Since one of the features of the synod is that it is a body composed of rabbinical and lay delegates the Committee deemed it advisable to secure opinions from representative laymen on the subject. A communication was addressed to a number of such co-religionists; only eight answers were received, which have been embodied in the pamphlet.

In accordance with the instructions contained in the original resolution providing for the preparation and issuance of the publication, the Committee included the Conference documents dealing with the subject of the synod, viz., the suggestions in the presidential addresses at Detroit, 1903, and Louisville, 1904, and in the report of the Sabbath Commission; the report of the Committee on Synod (Louisville, 1904); the majority and minority reports on the President's suggestion to organize a synod, submitted at the Louisville Conference; Dr. Enelow's paper on "The Jewish Synod," read at the Buffalo Conference (1900); the matter relating to the synod in Prof. Margolis' paper on "The Theological Aspect of Reformed Judaism" (Detroit, 1903); and Dr. B. Felsenthal's "Some Jewish Questions" (Louisville, 1904).

As Chairman of the Committee I cannot refrain from singling out for especial mention our two Secretaries, Drs. Rosenau and Guttmacher, who were also members of the Committee, for their laborious and painstaking work in reading the proofs and seeing the matter through the press.

The Committee hope that the dictum of the ancient sage "in the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom" has been verified in this collection of opinions. At any rate we believe that this pamphlet on the synod, issued under the auspices of the Conference, is a distinct contribution to Jewish theological literature, and presents the whole subject from every possible point of view.

The pamphlet has been spread broadcast, four thousand copies having been printed. The selection and translation of the opinions and the incidental labor involved made it impossible to have the publication ready for distribution before May. The educational campaign proposed by the promulgation of this pamphlet may be therefore said to have just begun, and it may be well for that reason to defer the final decision on the subject until the next Conference when it can be made the first order of business.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON, *Chairman.*

Moved by Rabbi Philipson, that the report of the committee be received, and that the question of the Synod be up for discussion at the present time.

RABBI ENELOW.—I am not quite clear in my mind as to whether, it is quite within the province of this particular committee to suggest a discussion of the Synod question. I have been a member of this Committee on Synodal Literature, and my understanding was that this committee was to prepare a booklet, with the completion of which work its duty came to an end. Last year I was on the Committee on Synod, which, I believe is distinct from this one, and that it is not proper to discuss this question of Synod under the head of Synodal Literature. If there is to be a discussion, it should have been stated in the official program. My understanding was, that we were to bring before this Conference a pamphlet, which we were instructed to prepare by the Conference last year, that this pamphlet was to be educational for the Jews at large, and that the men and women of this country were to be given an opportunity to discuss this question, and we were to try to get the public opinion on the question. Accordingly, I do not think, that we are much more advanced on the problem, as far as the country at large is concerned, and we are not ready to take up the question now.

RABBI C. LEVI.—I believe we should show some recognition to the committee for the work it has done in the preparation of the literature. The Committee on Synodal Literature has carried out the instruction of the Conference to publish a pamphlet on this subject, to distribute it broadcast throughout the country, and they bring their report in to-day as having attended to this work. I think, that the gracious act on the part of the Conference is to receive the report, and also to pass a special vote of thanks for the thorough manner, in which the committee has carried out the instructions of the Conference during the year. I would amend the previous motion to this effect.

RABBI ENELOW.—Are you referring to the pamphlet gotten up by the Committee on Synodal Literature?

RABBI SCHANFARBER.—I would move the discussion of the question of the establishment of a Synod.

THE PRESIDENT.—There is no report, as I believe, of Committee on Synod before us. The second committee has done its work in the way of preparing literature. The whole thing has come back to the Conference itself. Both committees have done their work, and now the Conference itself will take up the question for discussion. Gentlemen, are you ready for the question?

RABBI C. LEVI.—I move, that the report be received, with thanks, and that the committee be discharged. (Carried.)

RABBI C. LEVI.—I move, that the question of the establishment of a Synod be opened for discussion before the Central Conference of American Rabbis. (Seconded.)

RABBI SCHULMAN.—Are we to have an academic debate, or is the discussion to be with a view of establishing a Synod.

RABBI ENELOW.—I would like to know if the Conference is to discuss a question that has not been put on the program.

PRESIDENT.—The Conference has a right to take up any new business it chooses.

RABBI SCHULMAN.—If there is going to be a vote, after the debate is closed, then the motion ought to be that the Conference take measures for the establishment of a Synod.

RABBI S. MANNHEIMER.—Was it decided, that the Synod question was to be discussed at this Conference?

PRESIDENT.—We have felt, that in view of the small majority, by which the vote in favor of a Synod was carried last year, it would be better to let the question go over for a year, so that when the vote is taken, we may have a more decisive vote.

RABBI C. LEVI.—I would inform the members, that the committee of last year, which had in charge this matter, and brought in a recommendation for the establishment of a Synod, did not have its work complete; that the discussion on the question was temporarily put off until such a time when the Conference should decide to bring it up again; and that this committee is officially in charge of the mat-

ter until the Conference has put itself on record as being in favor of establishing or not establishing a Synod. I did not think, that the Committee felt its work was complete, when the Conference decided to take up the matter at some later day, subject to an educational campaign.

PRESIDENT.—No such committee exists. Voluntarily we resolved to call the matter off for another year.

RABBI ENELOW.—I do not think that you will find anywhere in the records of last year's session any reference to the fact that we were to take this matter up for final action this year. If so, I never saw it. But I think, that we would be defeating our own purpose, if, after having given a whole year's work to the preparation of a pamphlet, we, two weeks after the pamphlet was distributed, assemble here and reopen the question, to vote one way or another. This is a big question, and a good cause will not lose by waiting. I think that we ought to wait a year or so, to let this pamphlet do its work properly, and then take the question up for discussion, put the matter to a vote, and decide sensibly and judiciously for all time to come.

RABBI FRIEDLANDER.—I move, that the original committee give us a definite idea of what we are to discuss on this floor, to formulate some expression as to what a Synod is or, is not, and then bring it before us for discussion at this session.

RABBI GRIES.—I move an amendment,—that we discuss this question next year.

RABBI STOLZ.—In the majority report to the Conference last year was contained a plan of a Synod to be constituted at some future time. That portion of the report was withdrawn and was not printed. I, therefore, concur in the motion made by Rabbi Friedlander, but would enlarge it, so that the committee will present to us, not simply an understanding of what a Synod is, but also, if possible, to present to the next Conference a platform upon which all of us can agree. As the matter stands now, some have one interpretation of the Synod, others another, and if we argue the question now, we would be like arguing against straw men that we erect in

our imagination. I believe that it would facilitate matters, if a tentative platform could be worked out during the coming year to be presented if possible to the next Conference. I would add herewith, perhaps that this would most suitably come from the Committee on the President's Message, and, therefore, offer as a substitute, that this motion be referred to the Committee on the President's Message to work out as carefully as possible such a plan.

RABBI GRIES.—The point of my amendment was to have the discussion next year, and I still believe that the committee ought have another year to prepare a form of action.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—As chairman of both committees, of Committee on President's Message of this year and Committee on Synodal Literature, it has occurred to me that there is a way out. I also do not believe in postponing. However, I must now give away something that the President himself told me. In speaking with the President, he was inclined recently to upbraid the committee for not getting its work out sooner. I then explained circumstances to him. He said then that he would not embody the matter in his message. (PRESIDENT.—I received the report the next day.) Had I known that the President was to put it in his message, that the question was not to be postponed, I would have come here fully prepared to take it up. But I must say here that it is a very vital question which is before the country. There has been a great confusion in regard to this matter. But at the present time the whole thing has resolved itself into this. We have this report of the Committee on Synodal Literature. But we did not put into our report of this matter, that there was to be a report on Synod. But the President put it in his message, and when the committee brings in its report on the President's message, it can either recommend that there be or be not established a Synod. Therefore, discussion should be deferred until that time, when the Committee on the President's Message brings in its report. ●

RABBI GRIES.—Dr. Stolz referred it to the Committee on the President's Message in order that it should be discussed next year. Dr. Philipson says that the committee should bring it up for discussion now.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—This Conference has not the right to instruct the Committee on the President's Message.

RABBI SCHANFARBER.—I move, that the motion be laid on the table until after the report of the Committee on the President's Message is brought in. (Carried.)

PRESIDENT.—We have had the Sabbath question before us, it is our duty to take up that question, and we will reconsider the Sabbath question now.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—I have just received a special delivery letter from Dr. Samfield, a member of the committee, who endorses this report.

Recommendation III.

RABBI J. STOLZ.—I move that this recommendation regarding publication, distribution, and incurring of expenses be left to the Executive Committee. (Carried.)

Recommendation IV.

RABBI KOHLER.—I would suggest a change in wording, that instead of saying that the appeal should go among a certain class of professional men, the recommendation be worded, that it go among all professional and business men at the discretion of the committee.

- RABBI SALZMAN.—I had an experience in this very kind of work not long ago. I conceived the idea of asking the Jewish firms to permit the Jewish boys and girls in their employ to come to worship at our services on the Sabbath. At first they agreed to grant this permission but soon encountered a difficulty. They discovered that if it was right to grant this permission to their Jewish employes, they
- must concede the same terms to the Catholics, Protestants, etc., that they could not prohibit other employes from attending services on their various holidays. So they refused such permission to all alike. But there was some success in appealing to the employers themselves to attend the services on Sabbath, and some in time found that they could attend these services regularly.

RABBI C. LEVI.—This recommendation makes it appear as if half were better than none at all.

RABBI MOSES.—We are dabbling with very big questions. This very paragraph appears in its simplicity as if it was a very simple and harmless thing, but it touches the oldest, a most vital and difficult question in Judaism. And if we go out into the world with such a recommendation, I am of the opinion that we will stultify ourselves. In my congregation I have a number of religious men and women, who have Friday evening services at home, and whom I have tried to induce to attend services at the temple, but what is meant here is attendance at services.

RABBI CLIFTON H. LEVY.—I would like to present to you the layman's point of view. You cannot ask large firms to permit their Jewish employes to go away on Saturday when they expect a large amount of business. You will make yourselves ridiculous because you are showing a lack of common sense. Let us get down to the facts. This is a matter of bread and butter. This permission, if given, means a loss of a large amount of profit, which counts with these men. This is the way in which the business man looks at it. Your academic discussion of this question has no weight with them. You can appeal to them as long as you want. But the appeal that they will agree on is that at the end of the year the balance sheet shows up bad. What are they going to do when they let these young men and women attend the services. Shall they get extra help? That costs money. The proposition in their eyes is not businesslike.

RABBI SCHULMAN.—It is delightful to pass over radical and vital questions. This proposition has not to do with how the average man can observe the Sabbath, but it is a great question as to what Israel should be in the world. However, I wish also to say that the Conference that makes its own bed must sleep in it. The Conference must maintain that consistency which will command respect. This Conference has accepted the resolution that it wants to maintain the historical Sabbath. It is, therefore, only correct that this Conference should go on and do what this committee says should be done.

Otherwise, it will be said that this Conference uses words that do not mean anything. I am not prepared to declare that to every man, woman, and child that they should sacrifice themselves for the Sabbath observance. But my colleague asks you to appeal to the professional classes, and in favor of this I cast my vote.

Recommendation IV carried.

Recommendation V.

RABBI FRANKLIN.—The Chairman has suggested that members of the Sabbath School Board and teachers shall be Sabbath observers, or shall be asked to resign their positions. It happens very frequently that there are Sabbath school teachers who cannot be Sabbath observers, and that they are the only available material in some cities, especially the smaller ones, for Sabbath school teachers. I know that there are some very excellent ones who cannot observe the Sabbath. Shall the Sabbath schools close their doors for this reason? I agree with you that we ought to do all that we can to resuscitate the Sabbath observance. And I believe that the Sunday service has done more to help Sabbath worship than almost anything else. I am deeply interested in this question. But as it now stands, it seems ridiculous that this Conference should go forth to the world with the recommendation to induce the leading members to observe the Sabbath. We do try to induce them.

RABBI ENELOW.—It would be very unwise and unjust for us to pass a resolution of this character. When it comes to a matter like this that is going to affect us all I protest. I do not think that there are many congregations in this country where it is possible to put a thing like this into action. I have neither teachers nor officers who are able to observe the Sabbath.

RABBI HECHT.—I am in accord with this measure. We do not stultify ourselves when we let it go forth that it is the sentiment of this Conference that such an effort be made.

RABBI FABER.—I wish to say, that there is quite a difference between the large and small congregations. For a year and a half I

had changed my Sabbath school sessions to Saturday morning, but I had to change because I did not have the teachers.

Recommendations V, VI, and VII, on being put to a vote, were carried.

Recommendation VII.

RABBI KOHLER.—I move that the whole paragraph be struck out.

RABBI ENELOW.—We are setting a very dangerous precedent if we are going to ask colleges and universities to give special privileges and prerogatives to Jewish students. Accordingly I move the reconsideration of Paragraph VII. (Carried.)

RABBI SCHULMAN.—I maintain that this paragraph and the next following are germane to this very thing. When we ask universities not to hold examinations on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur we are doing something that we can do. They do not put examinations on Christmas and Easter. We should bring this matter to the attention of the authorities of our colleges and universities, as we have done with success in New York, and I hope that you will pass this resolution.

RABBI KRASNOWETZ.—I am quite aware of the fact that the Jews are in the minority, and believe, that if the individual, rather than the whole body of us, asks his professor to be excused from an examination on a holiday, he will be given an examination at another time. We are too sensitive in these matters. We are making a mountain out of a molehill. Chicago University has no sessions on the Sabbath. Jewish students are given these special privileges. We do not need to put this before the world as if the very heart of Judaism rests upon this question.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—The committee knows many cases in New York City where the Sabbath Observance League of New York City made similar requests, which have been granted, and examinations, which were scheduled for the holidays, have been set for other days.

RABBI STOLZ.—I have made the request of the Board of Education in Chicago, of which I am a member, and examination dates coming on holidays have always been changed.

PRESIDENT.—We have done the same thing with success in Philadelphia.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I think that the whole thing is unfortunate. After you have slept over it, I believe that you will be sorry for it. I believe that this matter ought to have been printed, and we ought to have been able to give it more time.

RABBI STOLZ.—I move that the resolution be presented, that Paragraph VII be separated into VII-A and VII-B, and that VII-B be carried. Motion seconded and carried.

Recommendation VIII withdrawn by common consent.

Recommendation IX.

RABBI RAPPAPORT.—I would amend this to read Recreation Resorts rather than Summer Resorts.

Recommendation with amendment carried.

Recommendation X.

PRESIDENT.—That belongs to the Committee on Sectarianism.

RABBI ENELOW.—I do not see how this Conference can enter into such a gigantic task as to deal with all the people, as is contemplated in this resolution. This is a great country, and such difficulties happen to men in every community.

RABBI KRASNOWETZ.—With regard to this question we have to drop superfluous remarks, and come down to facts. This question of Sunday legislation is a legal one, which must be settled in each State court in each State of the Union, and wherever this question comes up it will be a test case.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—It is the duty of every congregation and individual Jew in this country to do what he can to vouchsafe the rights of every Jew in the country. The inroads of Christianity in this matter are very striking, and we ought give our attention to it. But Recommendation X ought to be considered in connection with the report of the Committee on Sectarianism. It is not a matter of Sab-

bath observance or Sunday legislation. It is a matter of Christian education in our schools. I move that this whole paragraph be referred to the Committee on Sectarianism. (Seconded.)

RABBI SILVERMAN.—This ought not to be referred to the Committee on Sectarianism, for it has to do with Sabbath observance. As a result of petition and action among the Jews, the New York Legislature passed a law permitting Jewish butchers to open their shops for two hours on Sunday so that the Jews might get fresh meat on that day. The same thing happened in Massachusetts. This resolution is intended to cover just such cases in Massachusetts. The law says that if a Jew conscientiously observes the Sabbath he may keep his place of business open on Sunday, but if he keeps his shop open Saturday and Sunday, he is arrested. In the interests of such conscientious Jews, this resolution looks toward the taking of such steps.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—That does not move me from my position. This is only a part of a larger question of sectarianism, which is one of the mightiest questions before us. If we feel that there ought to be this assertive and aggressive attitude on the Jews in this country towards this question, then this Committee on Sectarianism, if it is awake to its duty, will have its agents everywhere, and will, thus constituted, take the steps that shall prevent any action on sectarianism in the various States.

This part of the report was referred to the Committee on Sectarianism.

Recommendation XI adopted.

Moved that the report, with amendments, be adopted as a whole.

RABBI HECHT.—I move that this matter of the adoption of the report as a whole be made the first business of the meeting tomorrow morning. The final vote on such a resolution as this is not a matter of mere affirmation, but every member should be fully posted upon what he is voting for as a whole.

RABBI RYPINS.—We should not pass upon this report as a whole. It is not a matter of form. We are not, by our action at the present

meetings, going to settle the question of Sabbath observance. When it comes to the observance of the Sabbath, we do not need further instructions. We have plenty of authority as to how to observe the historical Sabbath. But we need instructions as to how to observe the non-historical Sabbath.

Report was read by the Chairman of Committee, and adopted.

JULY 4, 1905.

Prayer by Rabbi Merritt.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON JEWISH MINISTERS' HANDBOOK.

CLEVELAND, July 4, 1905.

Your committee to whom was referred the preparation of a Jewish Ministers' Handbook begs leave to report that last December they sent a circular letter to every member of the Conference soliciting material within the scope of the nine rubrics enumerated on pages 137 and 138 of Year Book, Vol. XIV, and welcoming suggestions which might make the Handbook more complete and useful.

Many of the members did not respond. Some sent valuable suggestions; others transmitted acceptable manuscript; and still others promised to send their manuscript in the near future.

Your committee, therefore, report progress and ask for further time for the submission of their manuscript.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH STOLZ,
ISAAC S. MOSES,
T. SCHANFARBER.

Moved and carried that the report be received and committee be continued until next year.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SEDER HAGGADAH.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

The Committee on Seder Haggadah, appointed by the President, organized soon after the Louisville Conference, under the Chairmanship of Dr. H. Berkowitz; Dr. A. Guttmacher being elected Secretary. Dr. Silverman resigned for lack of time to serve, and his place was filled by the selection of Rabbi Chas. Rubenstein.

The Committee met from time to time in Philadelphia and Baltimore. Painstaking and earnest labor was devoted to the important work entrusted

to it. The directions adopted by the Conference were conscientiously carried out. Existing Haggadahs were carefully studied and compared. As a result, a decision was reached, in accordance with which a book, differing widely from all these, in its scope and methods, was devised.

The Chairman outlined the general plan for the work and the several divisions of the same were assigned to the various members of the Committee. As a basis for the ritual portions of the Haggadah, Prof. Margolis submitted a reduction of the Hebrew text, which after careful analysis, was adopted. The Associations of Cantors furnished the musical portions.

It was found impossible to complete the manuscript in the time prescribed. The same has, however, been submitted in print to all the members of the Conference in time to receive the necessary attention which would make possible its intelligent consideration and final adoption at this session. The manuscript thus submitted in print is complete with the exception of the music and songs. A list of these is given in the table of contents. It was found necessary to allow more time for the illustrations also. These are being prepared by an eminent Jewish artist.

Trusting that the work will commend itself to your favor, and that action will be taken to insure its prompt publication,

Yours fraternally,

HENRY BERKOWITZ, *Chairman*,
MAX L. MARGOLIS,
CHAS. RUBENSTEIN,
M. SALZMAN,
A. GUTTMACHER.

Moved and seconded that report be received and taken up for consideration.

RABBI GUTTMACHER.—This committee sent out circulars to each individual member of the Conference inviting suggestions with reference to this work. Fifteen to twenty replies were received, and it is the intention of the committee, if it should be continued, to take all these suggestions under careful consideration. We feel that this work now in your hands is largely tentative, and my idea would be, should you feel like granting it, to continue the committee, with the view of placing the final draft.

RABBI KOHLER.—I have had no time to look over the book. The impression it makes on me, as I glance at it, is, as the Chairman tells us, that it is in a very incomplete form. What I first wish to point out is the general principle upon which the work seems to have been

made is rather liable to criticism. For instance, the Hebrew is changed in places where the Chaldaic is used. Then some of the old strains are omitted, which I do not understand. Again, the "Mah Nishtano" is changed not only as regards place, but also in form. The committee is inconsistent in eliminating Hebrew, and in embodying Aramaic where it absolutely has not place. All those who recited the "Dayenu" in the old spirit were in perfect sympathy with the enumeration of the different things. It said "How many benefits did God offer for us!" Here it reads "How many benefits did God offer for us?" making a question out of what should be an exclamatory sentence. I do not want to criticise, but would only say that the matter as put before us is in a very incomplete form. As regards the Hebrew hymns, they are a display of excellent skill on the part of the author; but, after all, if I am to recite the "Had-Gadyoh" in our American homes, I would revive the thrilling hymn, expressive of all that God did for the Jew in times of prosperity and persecution. I would make it modern, make the "Had-Gadyoh" for American Jewry expressive of that idea of liberty that has taken root in the land, which will not only express the sufferings of Israel of old, but also be expressive of the sufferings of the Jew in the Middle Ages. We want to know why we suffered, not only in Biblical times, but also in the mediæval times. Then the Hebrew hymn, composed after an English model, does not appeal to my religious sentiment. As a literary man I can appreciate it, but I cannot appreciate it as a Jewish father of a family. I want the members of my household to be able to sing with me, and they cannot sing a beautifully composed hymn written in Hebrew. Then further, with reference to the two nursery songs, about which Dr. Zunz has written, that they used to be songs sung not on Pesach, but at playtime in the nursery; that they had no religious character in themselves and no religious relation, but have been introduced into Germany for two hundred years. Certainly, the interpretation given to this "Had-Gadyoh," the Song of the Kid, which is only a nursery song, does not appeal to us.

RABBI MOSES.—It is not that I wish to take part in every discussion that I rise, but the Haggadah is a subject on which I believe

many of my brethren will concede I have a right to speak. The present attempt is praiseworthy, and I am glad that there are other brethren who have tasted the bitter herb. They now see the difficulty of making liturgical literature. This Haggadah does not come up to the standard of expectation. The innovations it contains are too modern. It will not suit either the old or the young. Dr. Kohler has touched upon one omission. The American element has been omitted. I would rather revive the old Aramaic form than use the one here. The Aramaic form was used, because it was the vernacular. Why should we translate the old vernacular into a foreign language so that it should not be understood? The Haggadah became the vehicle of expression particularly at family reunions. There crept in a number of quaint songs that were intoned with a certain melody. This piece of work is too solemn, it takes the joyousness out of the occasion. It is too theological. I may be pardoned if I say an attempt has been made to make a Haggadah popular in the vernacular.

RABBI MANNHEIMER.—I do not rise to continue the discussion of Rabbi Moses. We do not do justice to this task. The committee, in a hurry, sent out these Haggadoth, and we did not have sufficient time to examine them thoroughly. I would inform Dr. Moses, however, that if we publish a Haggadah that does not say that no other Haggadah must be used. I would suggest that the committee be given further time, and that each of the members should send in his suggestions in writing to the committee.

PRESIDENT.—I would say that this is only a partial report, and if others want to make any remarks, I would suggest that they send their criticisms to the committee. There is only one way of treating this matter fairly, and that is by discussing the work page by page. But the report is not ready for that. Let the members, therefore, send in their suggestions to the committee for acceptance or rejection. I would suggest that the committee be allowed further time and that it report next year.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—I would amend the motion that has been made to the effect that the committee be increased, and that additional members be appointed.

PRESIDENT.—Is the amendment that additional members be appointed to the committee accepted?

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I accept the amendment and embody it in my motion.

RABBI SCHULMAN.—I do not think that Professor Margolis has been treated with fairness in this matter. It is easy enough, in criticizing a work of this kind, to point out its faults, but, as a matter of fact and justice, one ought not point them out so as to give the impression that Dr. Margolis does not know what he is doing. This criticism gives a wrong impression of the gentleman who is responsible for the text. I would say that the beautiful production of Prof. Margolis and original contribution of a hymn, was not to be sung in the American home. The Hebrew was written after the scheme to have the Hebrew express the English idea, as a translation.

RABBI STOLZ.—In the preparation of the Union Prayer Book you will remember that the material was presented to an editorial committee, which presented it to the Conference, and the Conference accepted it. This same action ought be taken in reference to the Haggadah. On the whole, the Haggadah is a fine piece of work. Now, let this committee be an Editorial Committee which shall consider this work, in connection with all suggestions that come in, and that they submit it to the next Conference.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—My motion had in view the fact that it is not yet ready for an Editorial Committee, and that more work ought be done before an Editorial Committee be appointed.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—This is not germane to the motion.

Motion, that the committee be increased and continued another year, at which time a report is to be made, was carried.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PROF. MARGOLIS' PAPER ON
THE THEOLOGICAL ASPECT OF REFORMED JUDAISM, AND
ON HIS MOTION TO HAVE A CREED OF REFORMED
JUDAISM PREPARED FOR FINAL ADOPTION BY A SYNOD.

Your Committee, after careful examination of Prof. Margolis' paper, begs to report that Prof. Margolis has deservedly earned the praise and thanks of the Rabbinical Conference by his admirable paper, entitled, "The Theological Aspect of Reformed Judaism," inasmuch as it is a work of extensive research and forms a valuable contribution to the rather scanty literature on Jewish theology.

At the same time your Committee is of the opinion that any attempt at formulating a Creed for one section of Judaism, with the exclusion of the rest, is a dangerous proceeding which should by all means be discouraged, as it tends to create a schism in antagonism to the spirit and tradition of Judaism.

Furthermore, your Committee observes in the paper a certain tendency to lend to Reform Judaism the character of finality which is in direct contradiction to the principle of historical progress and continuous growth upon which it is essentially based; such terms as "Reformed Judaism," "Reformed Jew," and "Reformation," used by the writer in place of "Reform Judaism," etc., being misnomers and decidedly misleading. As a matter of fact, the paper seems to present a critique of the Maimonidean creed from the point of view of the philologist and Bible critic rather than a clear, positive, and comprehensive exposition of the principles of Reform Judaism, the Creed offered as a substitute itself sharing the one-sidedness of Maimonidean rationalism.

Finally, your Committee suggests that the original proposition made by Dr. Isaac M. Wise, of blessed memory, in 1898 at the Rabbinical Conference at Atlantic City, "to lay before the world a clear and comprehensive statement of the principles of Judaism," should be adhered to and a committee be appointed to report on the feasibility of a plan of presenting for the English-speaking world a systematic exposition of the Jewish tenets of faith from an historical as well as a dogmatic point of view.

While stating in the following the reasons for the opinion hereby expressed, the Committee avails itself of this opportunity of giving due credit to the lucid discussion of Prof. Margolis' paper by Rabbis S. Hecht and M. Friedlander, printed in the Year Book, pp. 309-338. Especially has the latter's criticism proven helpful and suggestive.

Prof. Margolis' paper divides itself into two parts. The former and much more extensive one contains in almost a hundred pages (from p. 196 to p. 290 of the Year Book) a critical survey of the Maimonidean Creed; the rest is devoted to the proposed substitute.

A. THE THIRTEEN ARTICLES OF MAIMONIDES: GOD.

Prof. Margolis is perfectly right in starting with a critique of the Maimonidean Creed, since, as he says, the same has obtained a quasi-official sanction by finding its way in prose and poetic form into the Common Prayer Book, notwithstanding the dissent of thinkers like Crescas, Simon Duran, and Albo, and of traditionalists like Abravanel and others. However, in adopting at the same time the Christian systematization of theology and grouping the subjects around (a) Theology proper, (b) Cosmology, (c) Anthropology, (d) Eschatology, and (e) Christology or Ecclesiology (the last combination being altogether arbitrary, while Soteriology is omitted), he lends the whole an un-Jewish bias, accentuating essentials and unessentials alike. It is indeed questionable whether the doctrines of Judaism can be adequately expressed in terms of Christian theology any more than in terms of Aristotelian metaphysics. As Dr. Leo Baeck in his "Wesen des Judenthums" has so well stated it: "Judaism is neither a metaphysical nor a mythological, but an ethical, religion. Joseph Albo's grouping of the thirteen articles of Maimuni around the three cardinal principles, God, Revelation, and Retribution, furnishes a better method for the investigator than does the Christian system. Under these three headings, to which may be added the Messianic Hope as a fourth, the investigation of the Maimonidean Creed leads to far clearer results."

Before dwelling, however, in detail on any of these subjects treated in the Maimonidean Creed, the main deficiency or fallacy of the Maimonidean or any similar theology must be pointed out. Prof. Margolis calls it "bad exegesis" when the Biblical term "knowledge of God"—*Daat Elohim*—is given a speculative meaning by Maimonides and Bahya, and he pronounces the omission of the divine forgiveness in the Maimonidean Creed as "a grave error." But Maimonides' whole conception of Judaism as a religion is inadequate, one-sided, and incorrect. His theology is bad. His God is divested of all those attributes which remain forever the postulates of faith. The philosopher's absolute cause and essence of all things will never satisfy a soul thirsting after the living God. We need a Divine Personality to whom we feel akin and to whom we are drawn by bonds of affinity; we need an all-loving and all-providing Father to trust in and to commune with in prayer. The unrecognizable God of Maimonides comes very near Spencer's "Unknowable One;" He cannot help us in trouble and need, nor solve the mysteries of our own being. If we have learned anything since the days of Kant, it is that in religion "reason offers no antidote against false reasoning." Intellectualism is a failure. We must learn "to know God" as the power of the soul; He must become a matter of inner experience. Through the intellect neither seer nor sage finds the living God or life everlasting. For that which constitutes the unique verity of Judaism, the ethical nature of God, Aristotelian metaphysics has neither an appreciation nor a terminology. Its transcendentalism

deprives religion of all its vital forces which are spiritual and emotional. The opposition of Abraham ben David of Posquieres to the system of Maimonides was perfectly justified. The reaction of mysticism was bound to come. There is far more of the spirit of religion in Judah ha Levi and in Hasdai Crescas than in Maimonides, as, indeed, we are learning to-day to admire more and more the powerful theological mind of Ghazzali from whom Judah ha Levi derived his best ideas, in comparison with Alfarabi and Ibn Sina, whom Maimuni and Ibn Roshd follow very closely in their exposition of theological subjects. It is high time, indeed, as Samuel David Luzzatto well states in his "Yesode ha Torah" and elsewhere, to renounce the Aristotelian—Luzzatto calls it Attic—intellectualism which misconceives and misconstrues the character of Judaism. Judaism is throughout all its stages of development pre-eminently ethical Theism. By its lofty ethical conception of the Deity it excels and eclipses all other religions, and this finds expression in its divine ideal of "holiness"—the term *Kadosh* denoting *ethical*, and by no means, as Prof. Margolis puts it, metaphysical "transcendancy."

From this point of view all the difficulties which seemingly perplex Prof. Margolis, and in fact all those who feel bound to accept the results of Bible Criticism, are virtually removed. Viewing Judaism merely as monotheistic truth, Prof. Margolis distinguishes between the Jahvism of Moses, which to him is merely "a monotheistic tendency," and the absolute monotheism voiced for the first time in Deuteronomy written in the time of, if not after, King Josiah. How a religious truth thus evolved from lower forms can become to the believer a "Torah min ha Shamayim"—a divine revelation—to burst forth into an inspiring "Shema Yisrael" for the defense of which against Polytheism and Trinitarianism the Jew would willingly give his life; or how the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob can truly be worshipped in the synagogue if the patriarchal deity scarcely differed from the deities of other tribes, Prof. Margolis fails to indicate. Surely, Bible Criticism fails to furnish us with the positive elements out of which a creed may be formed. "Of decomposing matter such as are leaven and honey no fire offering shall be brought unto the Lord."

All the objectionable features, however, are removed the moment the intrinsic truth of the Sinai Revelation or of the religion of the prophets and patriarchs is recognized as being ethical theism. What of it if absolute monotheism is a slow growth, if even the Decalogue only prohibits polytheism but does not deny the existence of other gods? What of it if the God of the Bible is presented in manlike forms and attributes? Only by investing him with certain moral qualities derived from man could the Jewish seer perceive Him as a moral power, as "a power not ourselves that maketh for righteousness." And as a moral power, as the God of Righteousness and Holiness, He appears from the very beginning. The God of Abraham, of Moses, and of Isaiah is a moral personality, the God who says, "Walk before Me and be perfect!";

"Be holy for I the Lord your God am holy." As is shown in Hermann Cohen's "Ethik des reinen Willens," the purely ethical character of Judaism's God necessarily led to absolute monotheism. Where justice, love, and holiness form the principles of life, the absolute Unity of God as Ruler of man follows as a logical necessity. It is accordingly not the lack of poetry or of sentiment, as Prof. Margolis, partly following Bernfeld, says, which makes the Maimonidean articles of faith inadequate, but the lack of historical and psychological appreciation of the Jewish religion.

Likewise has the question dealt with in the fourth article, whether the belief in *Creatio ex nihilo* is fundamental in Judaism or not—a question which Judah ha Levi, Gersonides, and Crescas answer in the negative and Maimonides in the Moreh by no means in the affirmative—more a metaphysical than a religious character. Of far greater concern to us is the question which Prof. Margolis ought to have touched upon in this connection, viz., whether and how far the process of evolution in nature which modern science regards as an established fact, is in harmony with the belief in a Creator. The answer is practically given by Maimonides when he says in the Moreh ii: 25: "We do not reject the Eternity of the Universe because certain passages in Scripture assert the Creation; for such passages are not more numerous than those in which God is represented as a corporeal being. We might have explained them in the same manner—that is figuratively—as we did in respect to the Incorporeality of God." And he closes his argument, saying: "If Aristotle had proof of his theory of the Eternity of the Universe, the whole teaching of Scripture would have to be rejected and we should be forced to other opinions."

Again it must be said that neither physics nor metaphysics have anything to do with the religious principles that constitute the Jewish Creed. What we really need for our religious well-being is the belief in a moral government of the universe, or in an all-encompassing divine Providence which makes all things, from the very beginning, serve the highest moral ends. Yet it is exactly here where Maimonides' intellectualism proves its utmost failure. Like Aristotle, he holds that divine Providence extends only to the species, not to individuals; and as to man he finds it working only so far as he is able with his own intelligence to come in touch with the active intellect of the highest heavenly sphere (Moreh ii: 17-18). This is rather a poor consolation for a believing soul in distress; in fact, it is no consolation at all. It is not the kind of Providence faith postulates and prayer assumes. Nor does the fifth and last of the articles concerning God, which relates to worship and prayer, offer more than a mere negation. Its insistence on God being made the sole object of worship with the exclusion of all intermediary powers, is directed against both the Church and Cabbalistic practice; but it has really no place in a Creed. As a matter of fact, the doctrine has never been heeded or accepted. Notwithstanding all the sayings of the sages of olden and modern times to the contrary, the synagogue, the home, and the cemetery resounded

with prayers to angelic powers and the like (see against Schechter in J. Q. R. vi, 417, Zunz "Die Synagogale Poesie," 147-151).

What is required in place of this is the positive principle that God is more to man than Maker and Ruler; that there is a moral and spiritual relationship or kinship between the infinite God and finite man which makes the latter look up to the former, now in awe and fear, then again in yearning aspiration and faith, and worship Him. It is the privilege of man as the child of God to approach Him in prayer and in other forms of worship as a Father, full of mercy and love. Prof. Margolis reads this doctrine into the fifth article of Maimonides, but it is in no way implied therein. On the contrary, there is no place in the whole system of Maimonides for such a spiritual relationship. But also the mode in which Prof. Margolis derives the doctrine concerning worship from the verse "God made man in the image of the deity"—*bezelem Elohim* (Gen. i: 27)—is not free from objection, since there is a considerable difference of opinion among the rabbis in the Midrash and the mediæval commentators whether the *Elohim* refers to God or the angels and whether the divine image consists in man's intellectual or moral or even physical superiority over the brute (see art. Judaism in the J. E. VII, p. 361b). God's Fatherhood is an axiom of the Jewish faith which finds its support in other Biblical passages far better than in the verse referred to. It rests ultimately on the *second* fundamental of Judaism: God revealed himself to man.

B. THE DIVINE REVELATION.

The doctrine expressed in Rabbinical terminology as "*Torah min ha-Shamayim*"—"The Torah is from God"—(*Sanhedrin* x: 1) is formulated by Maimonides in four articles, the first asserting the truthfulness of the prophets of Scripture, the second the highest prophetic quality of Moses, the third the divine origin of the Law, and the fourth the immutability of the same. The fundamental character of at least two of these, the second and the fourth, has been denied with considerable force and the correctness of the last altogether disputed by Albo. It is rather surprising that Prof. Margolis takes no notice of Albo's *Ikkarim*. Much to the horror of the traditionalists, old and modern, proofs are given therein (*iii*: 14-16) that the Law of God did undergo changes from Adam to Moses, and that according to the rabbis it was and is expected to be altered by the authorities of the time under certain conditions, and particularly so in the Messianic time. Albo was not as profound and original a thinker as Crescas, his teacher; in clear-headedness and consistency he was in no way his inferior. The dogma of the unchangeableness of the Mosaic Law maintained also by Crescas (see, however, Schlesinger *Ikkarim*, pp. 662-663) is based upon the assumption that the Rabbinic interpretation of the Law has been handed down by Moses from Mount Sinai in all its detail as the Oral Law alongside of the Written Law (*Sanh.* 99a). Prof. Margolis correctly says: "A book in order to be authoritative must

have an equally authoritative interpretation." As soon, however, as the principle of historical growth and development is applied and recognized in Rabbinical law, the entire dogma of the unchangeableness of the Law falls to the ground, no matter whether the authenticity of the Pentateuch is believed in or whether, upon accepted results of Bible Criticism, it is denied. The whole chain of tradition in Abot i and elsewhere which connects Moses with Hillel and R. Akiba while excluding Sadducean authority and practice, rests upon fiction. Admit, for a moment, that the festivals and all other institutions were matters of slow growth rather than creations of the Law—for which fact also the Mishnah and Josephus offer proofs in many directions—and you can no longer subscribe to the Maimonidean doctrine of the Immutability of the Torah. It is an illusion, therefore, that Bible Criticism is the only research incompatible with the old Jewish Creed. Neither the Breslau school of Zacharias Frankel nor the Vienna school of Isaac Hirsch Weiss and Meir Friedman can conscientiously accept the thirteen articles, since for them Rabbinic tradition is a human, not a divine, product. Nor indeed did Maimonides as philosopher, when giving (in the *Moreh* iii: 26-49) as reasons for the various Mosaic laws, considerations of a temporary and local nature, accept the logical consequences of his own dogma, since a Law which is immutable and "which allows no distinction between husk and kernel," as is stated in his eighth fundamental article, cannot have temporary considerations for its reason. As soon as we admit, for instance, that the sacrificial laws are not merely suspended for the time of Israel's absence from the holy land but no longer have any binding character for us, there is no such a thing as immutable Law in the traditional sense.

We must accordingly place ourselves upon the higher standpoint taken by the prophets and some of the psalmists, that it is the ethical Law or the ethical spirit of the Law which is divine and eternal but not the form or the letter. For the Torah of the prophets which comprises the whole range of ethical life, divine revelation should be claimed and not for the priestly Torah which has no specific or positively Jewish character. Upon the prophetic Torah rose the structure of the Mosaic Law which, far from remaining immutably the same, ever assumed different forms and modes of practical application or interpretation according to the different needs and conditions of the time. A historical investigation of the origin and growth of the entire Law, beginning with the various Pentateuch legislations and tracing it with the help of pre-Talmudical writings, such as the Book of Jubilees, through the various strata of the Mishnic Code, that is from Sadducean to Pharisean stages and from post-Temple to Temple times, is still waiting for an original worker, the labors of Geiger, Frankel, I. H. Weiss, and Ludwig Rosenthal being but helps and hints in the right direction. Bible and Talmud are alike the work of evolution. How far evolution is compatible with revelation, or where the divine and where the human factor lies, this is the problem for the

theologian to solve. Certainly the Maimonidean dogma can be of little use to us. The conception of Judaism as a historical and ever progressive religion did not and could not dawn upon the minds of either a Maimuni or a Spinoza or a Mendelssohn. As a matter of fact, all those who claim for Judaism the principle of stability and unchangeableness, still labor from a lack of the historical sense; their eyes were not opened to the main discovery of the last century, the historic view of things; they are in the happy state of such as have not tasted the fruit of the tree of modern knowledge. It is the recognition of the principle of progress that calls for a re-statement of the doctrines of Judaism. They misrepresent Reform Judaism who identify it either with Karaitism, which was but an artificial attempt at resuscitating Sadduceeism (see the art. Karaites in the J. E.), or with Paulinism, which wanted to do away with all Law, the moral as well as the ceremonial, in order to place faith in the Crucified Christ in its stead (see Saul of Tarsus in the J. E.).

On closer observation, none of the Maimonidean articles concerning Revelation are acceptable or actually accepted dogmas. That all that the prophets said must be accepted as truth, is not even claimed by the rabbis; the fact that they wanted to cast the book of Ezekiel out of the Biblical canon (Shabbat 13b; Abot d. R. N. i) is the best proof against such a dogma, aside from the many Talmudical remarks concerning the failings of various prophets. Only in so far as they hold out the Messianic hope, are they called "the prophets of truth" in the liturgy, the Benediction before the Haftarah comp. Mas. Soferim xiii: 9, and see Joel Mueller on the passage, who finds in it a reference to non-Jewish prophets.

Also the dogmatic belief in the supremacy of the prophecy of Moses has little support in Rabbinical literature. On the contrary, the passage in Deuteronomy xxxiv: 10: "There arose no prophet in Israel like unto Moses," is so commented upon in the Sifre as to imply: "Not in Israel but among the heathen prophets Moses had an equal in Balaam."

The whole point of view of Maimonides concerning prophecy and revelation is adopted from Muslim thinkers. For a true appreciation of the Jewish philosophers of the middle ages it is necessary to bear in mind that there were two currents of thought in Islamism which shaped its theology, the rationalistic one represented by Al Kindi, Alfarabi, and Ibn Sina, and followed to its last conclusion by Ibn Roshd, the countryman and contemporary of Maimonides, and the mystic one which found its most original exponent in Ghazzali. It is particularly Alfarabi who, in order to bring the fact of prophecy upon which the Koran as well as the Torah is based into harmony with the Aristotelian system, has recourse to the Active Intellect of the tenth celestial sphere through which the prophet, owing to his innate affinity to the same and in accordance with the degree of intelligence he possesses, attains the truth. To this Ibn Sina, while following the same theory, added a certain

moral element as a prerequisite, stating that a life of purity must render the prophet fit for attaining the truth, and ascetic practices may intensify the susceptibility of the mind. (See S. Horovitz, "Die Prophetologie in d. juedischen Religionsphilosophie," 1883, 20-30). It is exactly this view which underlies Maimuni's insistence upon the truthfulness of Jewish prophecy and upon the supremacy of that of Moses. His whole theory of the various degrees of prophecy as presented in the *Moreh* (ii: 32-48), as well as in his *Sefer ha Madda* (*Yesode ha Torah* vii) rests upon his Arabic Aristotelianism. This singular intellectualism becomes especially manifest in his endeavor to make the revelation of God to the people of Israel at Mount Sinai an act of reasoning when, with reference to Biblical and Talmudical passages, he says (*Moreh* ii: 33) that the Israelites heard the first and the second commandments from God, that is, they learned the truth of these two principles, the existence and the Unity of God, by means of reasoning, and of the rest they heard only the sound, while Moses alone was capable by his prophecy of receiving the other commandments. Likewise is the whole mystery of Ezekiel's theophany, the *Maaseh Merkabah*, dissolved by Maimonides into physical science attained by the intellect (*Moreh* iii: 2-3).

It is certainly a far deeper conception and appreciation of prophecy and revelation and more in consonance with Scripture and with the nature of religion which Ghazzali represents when he declares these to be an inner experience of the soul beyond the reach of the intellect, the work of an inner light or insight into life from which all higher truth emanates. Upon it Judah ha Levi (see Kaufmann, "Geschichte der Attributenlehre," p. 202, note 180) built his system of theology which is in every respect more in harmony with the spirit of Judaism. Using the very term of Ghazzali, "an inner eye," for prophetic capacity, he claims that God has given it to His chosen ones (*Kuzari* iv: 3) by which they saw the truth not reached by speculation, and that only by Israel as the heart of mankind and through the holy soil of Palestine this prophetic capacity was attained (i: 103; ii: 12-14). This view is certainly a far safer basis for a Jewish Creed than the Maimonidean one whose rationalism makes of prophecy a universal capacity of the mind, but robs it of its historical significance.

Prophecy and Revelation, while they are psychological phenomena of religion that have their parallels elsewhere and cannot be treated as exclusively Jewish, as indeed Scripture itself ascribes them to other tribes as well, are nevertheless distinctive characteristics of Judaism in the same degree as the God of Judaism differs from all other deities. Prophecy and Revelation are the forms in which Ethical Theism manifested itself in the world. Revelation is the self-manifestation of God as the source of Ethics, the God of Righteousness and Law; Prophecy is the receptive state of the person to whom or through whom God speaks. The two belong inseparably together. In Revelation, Truth appearing as a divine Person is the active power; in

Prophecy, the human personality is seized and overwhelmed by the truth he sees or hears. Neither process is an intellectual one; it is the work of the emotional and the imaginative faculty combined which alone are creative. It is the un-understood, hidden power of the genius, the intuitive faculty of the soul in close touch with the World-Mind, that creates art and religion. It is the Jewish genius which created Ethical Theism. Neither Moses nor Amos but Abraham as the prototype of the Jewish race denotes the starting-point of the Jewish religion, and the entirety of the Jewish nation assembled around Sinai forms the recipient of the Jewish truth. These facts cannot and should not be affected by Bible Criticism. All that is needed is a correct reading or re-setting of the same in the light of historic research.

C. RETRIBUTION AND THE FUTURE.

The last four of Maimuni's thirteen articles are by no means of equal importance. The tenth asserts God's omniscience with reference to man's deeds and thoughts. How far God's omniscience, which of course implies fore-knowledge, can be reconciled with man's free-will upon which human responsibility rests, has been a matter of philosophical speculation at all time (Saadiah *Emunot we Deot* ii:9; *Moreh* iii:17; *Kuzari* v:20; *Crecas*, Or *Adonai* ii:5; *Ikkarim* iv:1-12). In reality, the eleventh article asserting God's retributive justice includes and necessitates the other, and logically they form but one article. That the divine Justice has as correlate the divine Mercy ought indeed to be stated in a Jewish creed; but Prof. Margolis, who declares this omission a grave error on the part of Maimonides, fails to notice that in Maimuni's intellectual system there is no place for mercy. Justice is a dictate of reason; mercy is a postulate of faith, a privilege granted to man as child of God. The doctrine of God's forgiving mercy to the repentant sinner, the most precious fruit of the Jewish faith, which lent to the Atonement Day its unequalled grandeur, is not the result of the highest reasoning, but the object of special revelations of God (*Exodus* xxxiv:6-9; *Numer.* xiv:20; *Hosea* i:6; xii:7; xiv:2-5; *Ezekiel* xviii). It lies outside of Maimonides' Aristotelianism and is accordingly ignored in his creed.

But from our point of view, which is that of historical apperception of religious ideas, the idea of retribution has been a different one in the different ages and stages of Judaism. In the Decalogue and the whole Pentateuch, as well as in the prophetic view down to *Ezekiel*, only the nation as such is the object of the divine care and judgment. All the promises of reward and threats of punishment in the Bible, except *Daniel*, refer to the nation. Only the breaking up of national life brings the question of the individual to an issue. The doctrine of a retribution after life, unknown to Job and still rejected by the Sadducean party, becomes a fundamental of Pharisaic or Rabbinic Judaism, which combines with the belief in Resurrection of the body

also the great national hope for Israel's future. It is in the holy land alone that the miracle of the resurrection is expected to take place (see the art. Resurrection in the J. E.). On the other hand, immortality of the Soul, voiced only as an object of longing by some Psalmist, became a matter of conviction to such writers as came under the influence of Platonic ideas. For the rabbis as well as for the Hasidean founders of the Synagogue, Resurrection was the object of belief; only the opening of the graves led to the Olam haba. Immortality, found by the Hagadists in the Biblical Al muth—Athanasia (see the passage in the note of Buber to Midrash Shohar Tob Psalm xlviii at the close) became and remained an exclusively philosophical conception: hasarat ha nefesh. Maimonides' attitude towards the question is very peculiar. He adopts the Rabbinical terminology and formulates the belief in Resurrection as the thirteenth article, but explains it and all the Rabbinic sayings referring to it, especially in his "Maamar Tehiyyat ha Metim," in a figurative sense, maintaining only the belief in Immortality of the Soul. In his Moreh, however, when speaking as philosopher, he ignores Resurrection altogether and follows the Muslim Aristotelians in assigning immortality only to the sage whose acquired intellect, according to the degree of perfection attained, becomes part of the Active Intellect or the Divine Mind (Moreh ii: 27; iii: 51; compare his Yad, Hilkot Teshubah viii: 1-8). That such a conception of "the world to come" which has no hope whatsoever for the soul of the simple, pious believer could only meet with the strongest opposition of the really religious minds such as Crescas (see his Or Adonai ii: 6) and Abraham ben David of Posquieres (see his note to H. Teshubah viii: 8) is evident. To him the world to come is the ideal world that is and will forever be the realm of the intellect. Surely Crescas' system of a divine world of love emanating from God and engendering an affinity between him and the soul of man, is in every respect a profounder conception of religion and of ethical Theism, if but love be supplemented or substituted by righteousness. As to the twelfth article, the belief in the advent of a Messiah, Maimonides appears to have been far more anxious to divest this national hope of its eschatological and supernatural character into which the rabbis and mystics shaped it, than to emphasize its universality as the great goal of human history, as it was regarded by the prophets, although he saw in Jesus and Mohammed messengers of God paving the way to the Messiah—as Prof. Margolis has pointed out. Here again Maimonides was too much of an Aristotelian rationalist to recognize the historical world-mission ascribed by the prophets to Israel in connection with their Messianic expectations, and so he held fast to the shell while dropping the kernel of the Messianic hope. That the belief in a personal Messiah, or, as Maimonides puts it in his introductory words (Sanhedrin x: 1), in a Messianic dynasty, does not constitute a fundamental belief of Judaism has been demonstrated by Albo (Ikkarim iv: 42-45). It redounds to the credit of Judah ha Levi that he raised the belief in the election of Israel by God to the dignity

of a cardinal dogma, as pointed out by Dr. Schechter and commented upon by Prof. Margolis, and he also seems to have had a clearer perception than Maimonides had of the historical task assigned to Christianity and Islamism in the preparation of the pagan world for the Messianic time (Kuzari iv: 23). Certainly the mission of Israel to bring about the Messianic goal of human history by leading the nations to the worship of God and the establishment of the reign of truth, justice, love, peace, and holiness all over the earth, is one of the great fundamentals of Judaism. It is, however, a futile endeavor to read the same into the Maimonidean Creed.

To conclude, the thirteen articles of Maimonides are utterly inadequate to express our own religious conviction. We reject them not merely because we cannot accept the beliefs in the immutability of the Law, in Resurrection and the Messiah—all three of which, according to Crescas and Albo, are no fundamentals—but because their point of view is not a truly religious one in the spirit of the theology or philosophy of to-day; they fail to express that which is really essential and vital in Judaism.

D. THE POSITIVENESS OF THE MAIMONIDEAN CREED.

Before considering any other formulated creed which might take the place of the Maimonidean one, the question is in place, what gave the thirteen articles their popularity and their force? The answer seems to be that, notwithstanding their philosophical character, they have all the positiveness of a profound religious conviction and, while appealing to cold reason, there is in them the warmth of heart of a people that is ready at any moment to give its life-blood for the truth voiced therein. They do not merely assert the belief in absolute Monotheism, but in them one hears echoed the battle-cry of Shema Yisrael, with its mighty protest against the trinitarian deity, against the man-god and all the forms of belief and of worship adhered to by a Church whose powerful dominion over lives and souls was built upon a compromise with pagan mythology. There reverberated in them the thunders of Sinai when they gave utterance to the other watchword of the Jew: *Torat Mosheh Emeth*, "The Law or the Teaching of Moses is Truth," in a form which left no doubt in the minds of its professors that there can be no such a thing as a new dispensation or a new covenant to take the place of the old Sinaitic one; that there never was nor ever should be a break in the continuity of Jewish life and Jewish thought and Jewish hope since Israel's sons received their trust from the God who spoke on Sinai. And, finally, there runs through these articles that perfect optimism, that clear note for the future which ever dispelled for the Jew in times of direst distress the gloom of sin and woe which makes other religions so repulsive to him. The Messiah has not come, but will come, and justice will be meted out to men in the future!

It is evident that these features are essential to a Jewish creed, and any creed that lacks the element of positiveness and of vigor fails of its purpose.

II. PROF. MARGOLIS' PROPOSED CREED.

When proposing a Creed of his own in place of Maimuni's, Prof. Margolis, for reasons not stated by him, took no notice of the articles of faith formulated for practical purposes in Catechisms and in Rabbinical Conferences by ever so many rabbis and assemblies of rabbis within the last century. Following the pattern of the Creed of the Prayer Book, which is based upon the Maimonidean Thirteen Articles, Prof. Margolis' Creed reads as follows:

1. "I believe in God the One and Holy, the Creator and Sustainer of the World.

2. (a) "I believe that man possesses a divine power wherewith he may subdue evil impulses and passions, strive to come nearer and nearer the perfection of God and commune with Him in prayer;

(b) "That select individuals are from time to time called by God as prophets and charged with the mission of declaring His will unto men;

(c) "That man is subject to God's law and responsible to the Searcher of the human heart and the righteous Judge for all his thoughts and deeds;

(d) "That he who confesses his sins and turns from his evil ways and truly repents is lovingly forgiven by his Father in heaven.

3. "I believe that the pious who in this life obey God's Law and do His will with a perfect heart and those who truly repent share as immortal souls in the everlasting life of God.

4. "I believe that Israel was chosen by God as His anointed servant to proclaim unto the families of mankind His truth and, though despised and rejected of men, to continue as His witness until there come in and through him the Kingdom of peace and moral perfection and the fulness of the knowledge of God, the true community of the children of the living God."

We have here for the four objects of faith, God, Man, Retribution, and Israel's Messianic Mission, four articles disproportionate in form and in character.

The first one is in no way an improvement upon the Maimonidean five; it lacks positiveness and clearness. The Christian believer in a triune God claims also to be a monotheist, and the attribute of holiness is far from asserting spirituality in the sense Prof. Margolis obviously uses it here, as was pointed out correctly by Rabbi Friedlander. The article concerning the belief in God must in accents of unmistakable and forcible truth assert the absolute unity and incorporeality, the eternity, that is the supermundane or transcendental nature of God, as well as His immanence in nature or His omnipresence, His omniscience as well as His all-encompassing providence; but no less so His moral nature, His moral government of the world, His righteousness and love, His perfection and holiness. Only through these attributes is God conceived and felt by us as the living God and enthroned in our hearts as the Divine Personality to whom as moral beings we are related. Moreover, the more

strongly the transcendental loftiness of God is accentuated in the Jewish Creed, in contradistinction to Christian theology which even in these days of ours by the Ritschl school, Kaftan and others, finds God only through and in Jesus, the closer we are to the core and center, the essence of Judaism.

The second article, having man as its theme, consists of four parts: (a) it dwells on man's freedom of will, his perfectibility, and his privilege of prayer; (b) it dwells on prophecy, representing it not as a Jewish but as a universally human faculty granted by God from time to time to His chosen ones; (c) it dwells on man's responsibility to God as the searcher and Judge of all deeds and thoughts; and (d) on divine forgiveness and repentance.

It is difficult to see why (a) and (c), viz., man's freedom and man's responsibility are not rendered into one paragraph and why the paragraph on prophecy should intervene. Obviously, here the Bible critic stole a march on the theologian, and the belief in divine revelation and inspiration upon which the Torah, that is Judaism whether as Law or as prophetic truth, rests, became a matter of great perplexity to our author. The Kantian axiom that there is nothing in man which is not of man, paved the way to the Hegelian principle of evolution which found its striking corroboration in historical research of religion and Bible as well as in natural science. Naturally the problem confronts us, What is to become of Revelation and Prophecy? Our author answers with sentences taken from Claude Montefiore's "Liberal Judaism": "It is the Divine in man which makes him capable of goodness and capable of sin. The consciousness of the contrast between what he is and what he ought to be" . . . "the consciousness of goodness and of sin" is the result of a divine element within him, while the divine spirit without influences and quickens the same. So for Montefiore "the essence of religion" and likewise the prophetic inspiration consists "in the influence of the divine spirit without upon the human spirit within." "When we say Isaiah was especially inspired by the divine will we mean that Isaiah had a great insight into religious and moral truth." Evidently, Claude Montefiore's theological definition of the divine in man and the divine spirit outside of man is not very clear. Still less so is Prof. Margolis when with reference to Wellhausen he says: "We believe in a general revelation but at the same time we maintain that God revealed himself more clearly and more truly to our forefathers." He leaves us still more in the dark when he defines Torah now as "teaching" and then again as "the Law of conduct." That which is characteristically Jewish and divinely revealed in the Law or in prophecy is not stated at all. Moreover, the declaration that "God calls from time to time select individuals as prophets" leaves it an open question whether Mohammed and Jesus were not as much entitled to appear as prophets as were Moses and Isaiah, and whether Nietzsche's "Zarathustra" may not also claim a rank among those charged with the mission of declaring God's will to man. What is the criterion of a true prophet and wherein consists his credentials? Is the inspiration of an

Aeschylus, Pindar, and Homer, of a Shakespeare and Goethe the same as that of the Hebrew seer and singer or sage as they speak in Holy Writ? What then renders the Bible the word of God? and wherein lies the difference between the sacred and the profane literature? Surely, if anywhere here the Creed must be outspoken and clear, or else it will be more than superfluous; it will be harmful.

Prof. Margolis neglected to make use of the principle which he, without sufficient cause, had attributed previously to Maimonides: the filial relation of man to God announced by Judaism primarily in regard to Israel and then in the course of time to the human kind in general. The consciousness of man's kinship to God is a corollary to the main doctrine of Judaism, that of ethical Theism. This relation, which implies a double nature in man, the flesh or animal life with its desires and the heaven-aspiring soul with its higher longings, casts its full light upon free-will and repentance as well as upon prayer, and at the same time presents God as the merciful Father who forgives and who hears prayer.

On the other hand, this spiritual kinship to God could and still can be realized only by the few. It required spiritually-gifted souls and a spiritually-minded people to come into touch with the divine Spirit in order to realize this relation and receive the transforming message from on high. Here it is that the psychic research in the field of religion may come to our aid in elucidating many facts still obscure. Still "The Varieties of Religious Experience" and similar investigations of a general nature will not clear up the problem of Revelation and Inspiration unless we take the larger scope of Ethnic Psychology ("Voelkerpsychologie") to account for the peculiar tendencies and faculties of the Jewish people among the Semitic races and appreciate its specific religious genius as unfolded in its succession of prophets, psalmists, and inspired sages. That the nature of the Deity is an ethical one so as to constitute a relation between it and mankind corresponding with that of Fatherhood and Childship, and that to walk in the way of God is to be righteous, kind, and humble—this was the work of Jewish prophecy, the essence of revelation.

Prophecy and Revelation are thus not simple facts of anthropological science, but historic facts, acts of the Deity which, however child-like the form in which they are presented in Scripture, may be and must be accepted as the foundations of Judaism.

As to Prof. Margolis' third article, the one concerning Immortality, all we can say is that the author deserves credit for his bold candor; he goes only a step further than Maimonides. The latter reserves the claim of immortality of the soul at least for the sage. Prof. Margolis finds this heaven to be rather too aristocratic and generously renounces this privilege. "Immortality must be realized in this life," he says in commenting upon the main contents of his article of faith. That the soul of man has, or retains after death, individual

existence, he apparently disbelieves. How all the psychic phenomena, how freedom of will, prophecy and all other experience and postulates of faith can be reconciled with a theological system which negates the individual existence of the soul, is difficult to say. As a matter of fact, pure Theism necessitates the continued existence of the human personality in some form or other. A divine Fatherhood posits human souls that share the divine nature as children and are not simply lights that shine when the spark of divinity is in them but evaporate when the flame of life is quenched. Reform Judaism, in the same degree as it refutes bodily resurrection as contradictory to reason and science, must positively assert the continuity of the soul as a matter of belief and firm hope. Not that "the world to come" must necessarily mean a life to succeed this somewhere and at some time, but the accent should be laid upon the perpetuity of the spirit claimed by faith with the same right as perpetuity of matter is claimed by science amidst incessant evolution.

As regards the Messianic mission of Israel expressed in the fourth article, Prof. Margolis, while endorsing the principles pronounced at the Pittsburgh Conference and voiced in Einhorn's Prayer Book and subsequently in the Hebrew Union Prayer Book, seems at the same time to favor a personal Messiah. But here again the critic plays a trick on the theologian; the former declares all Messiahs to be false Messiahs, wherefore he believes in the necessity of a series of Messiahs each paving the way for his successor to lead to the ideal one who is "always to come," while the latter thinks of Israel as a people "doing the Messianic work of redemption." No doubt, the title "Servant of the Lord" for Israel would be more appropriate as being based upon Deutero-Isaiah. It is owing to the "Suffering Messiah" of the Church that the title of Messiah is applied to Israel in preference to the other in order to state the contrast between Judaism and Christianity.

In presenting his Creed to the Rabbinical Conference, Prof. Margolis states, and we all fully agree with him, that Judaism must be a matter of religious conviction, spiritual life and not merely race pride and a nationalistic concern. For this reason he wants to have its doctrines reformulated in a Creed which adequately expresses the views and principles of Reform or progressive Judaism, in contradistinction to Orthodoxy, on the lines laid down by Geiger, Holdheim, Samuel Hirsch, Einhorn, and Isaac M. Wise.

Here then arises the main question at issue:

E. IS IT NECESSARY, OR IS IT ADVISABLE TO HAVE A CREED OF REFORM JUDAISM?

Paradoxical as it may sound, the answer is: While it is necessary to have a Creed, it is at the same time not advisable to formally and conjointly adopt a Creed on behalf of Reform Judaism, exclusively.

It is superfluous to reiterate the remarks made by Prof. Margolis and previously by Prof. Schechter and Leopold Loew with reference to the familiar Mendelssohnian dictum: "Judaism has only laws but no dogmas." The

Shema Yisrael with its declaration of the Unity of God followed by the prayer formula: "Emet we Yazib or Emeth we Emunah," "It is true and established that the Lord is God and none else," has ever constituted the Creed of Judaism. And when dissension arose in Israel regarding Resurrection and future Redemption, the Pharisean founders of the Synagogue, the so-called *Anshe Keneset Ha Gedolah*, embodied these beliefs also in the daily liturgy. This simple fact not only proves that Judaism has dogmas, but it also shows how doctrines assumed the character of dogmatic belief. The community in accepting certain formulas declaring what they believe raises the doctrines enunciated therein to the dignity and value of a Creed. Who actually wrote the *Ani Maamin*, the Creed formulated in accordance with Maimonides' thirteen articles, and introduced it as such into the Synagogue, I have been unable to ascertain. But there can hardly be any doubt that, while the Muslim Creed—*Kalimatu Shahadat*—was probably copied from the Jewish Shema when made one of the five indispensable acts of the Muslim faith, the author of the *Ani Maamin* was on his part greatly influenced in the formulation of the Creed by the Muslim *Kalimah*, which goes back to the beginning of Islamism and consists of a series of ten personal affirmations of belief couched in philosophical or metaphysic terms, just like the Jewish *Ani Maamin* (see Kremer, "*Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*," 1868, 40-41; Krehl, "*Beiträge zur Charakteristik der Lehre vom Glauben im Islam*," 1877, 10; Hughes, "*Dictionary of Islam*," s. v. Creed and *Kalimah*). How far Maimonides himself, and before him the Karaite and Rabbanite dogmatists (Judah Hadassi's ten articles correspond to the ten of the Islamic Creed) were influenced by the Mohammedan *Fikh al akbar*, "the great Theology" of the year 815, is a matter of great interest for the student of the history of Jewish dogmatism. It is, however, easy to understand that, living among Mohammedan and Christian populations and associating with both, they felt the need of a Creed pointing out the Jewish articles of faith in contradistinction to both, and so the *Ani Maamin* was embodied in the Prayer Book, the German-Polish congregations retaining the Hebrew prose, while the Spanish and other communities preferred the rhymed formulation of the Creed, such as the *Yigdal* and others (see Steinschneider's *Catalogue* and *Landshuth Amude ha Abodah* s. v. Moses b. Maimon).

The need of a Creed, that is of a clear and concise statement of the doctrines and beliefs of Judaism in contradistinction to other creeds, has been felt whenever the Jew came into contact with other religious sects. Wherefore both Philo (*De Mundi Opificio* lxi) and Josephus (*Contra Apionem* ii: 22-23) felt induced to state the principles of Judaism. It stands to reason that the modern era, which brought the Jew and non-Jew into closer contact with each other than ever before, called all the more urgently for such a statement of the principles of Judaism, especially so in those circles in which neither Mendelssohn's definition of Judaism as a Law instituted to keep the

Jews as deists banded together, nor that of Judah ha Levi (Kuzari i: 115) and others for whom either the Jewish nation as such or the observance of the Law is the Alpha and Omega of Judaism (see Zacharias Frankel, *Zeitschrift*, 1844, 9-11; 1845), could find acceptance. The Reform movement the moment it was maturing into intellectual independence and reached out for a theological system of its own, gladly availed itself of Albo's three fundamentals in its opposition to Maimuni's thirteen articles (see Creizenach in Geiger's *Wissenschaftliche Zeitsch. d. jued. Theologie*, I-II Jahrgang). Thus one catechism after the other was presented during the last century for the religious instruction and the Confirmation of the Jewish youth, a creed formulated with greater or less adherence to Albo's fundamentals.

Still, Albo's three fundamentals—God, Revelation, and Retribution—could not satisfy the Reform theologian, as they lacked the positive Jewish character, the assertion of the Messianic Mission of the Jew; so the fourth fundamental was added to the Creed of the leading theologians. This was brought out especially clearly in Einhorn's articles of faith formulated, partly in the language of the Ani Maamin, for both the Confirmation and the Admission of Proselytes, and embodied in his Prayer Book. The Central Rabbinical Conference at Rochester in 1895 adopted a creed based upon the four fundamentals, God; Man, image of God; Retribution; and Israel's Messianic Mission.

Practically, therefore, the question concerning the requirement of a Creed for Reform Judaism is answered in the affirmative, inasmuch as each Confirmation Service and each admission of a proselyte is supposed to avail itself of some creed formulated upon the principles just stated.

Whether in embodying in a somewhat modified form the Yigdal with its thirteen articles of faith in our ritual we have not tacitly endorsed the mediæval Creed in principle, is a question worthy of careful consideration; the fact itself suggests the desire for a revision also of the Ani Maamin, so as to embody the same in a modified form in our Liturgy. In this respect Prof. Margolis is perfectly right when he says that the Jew should through a living religious conviction be made to seek and find the living God, and where should or could his religious sense be stirred and awakened if not through the Prayer Book and by solemn affirmations of his faith at stated times?

It is quite a different thing, however, to enrich and fructualize the liturgy by solemn declarations of our faith from the point of view of progressive Judaism, and to venture out upon lines altogether unknown in Jewish history and endow a body of Jews with ecclesiastical power and authority to fix for all time, or even for a certain time only, the beliefs of the Jew or of a class of Jews in the shape of dogmas. There is nothing so antagonistic to the spirit of Judaism as is the creation of a Church or a Synod shaping the belief of the Jews. There is nothing as fatal to the free development and progress of the Jewish faith as dogmas which shackle the mind and impede free research. Nor are liberal dogmatists less presumptuous and less rigorous in

their assertions than conservative ones, as a glance at modern Christian theology amply shows. That Prof. Margolis himself has been entrapped in this network of theological rigorism, notwithstanding his radical views, has been well pointed out by Rabbi Friedlander when he calls attention to the attitude taken by him as if his, or our, Reform had reached a state of "finality" instead of giving full scope to an unending historical progress of Judaism keeping pace with the progress of humanity.

It is rather singular that Prof. Margolis has since "restated" or "reformulated" the Jewish Creed in his article, "The Mendelssohnian Programme," in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* of April, 1905, p. 543, in terms which are altogether free from a schismatical tendency:

"The Jewish Creed is after all very simple," he says there. "All this is everlastingly true and established with us that He is the Lord our God and there is none beside Him, and we are Israel, His people." "One God, man created in His image, and Israel his anointed servant"—such is the sum of our religion upon which all the rest is but a commentary.

"The one God is necessarily a holy spiritual being, inhabiting eternity and diffusing His glory throughout the world, its King and Sovereign. Man, created in the image of God, can never stray altogether from his Maker with whom he may commune in prayer, and who, though a stern Judge, is also a loving, forgiving Father who causes His children to share in His own everlasting life. Israel, the chosen servant of God, his prophet and apostle, is at once the organ of divine revelation and the redeemer of mankind by whose agency the kingdom of God shall come, and about whom all humanity shall unite in acknowledging the sovereignty of the divine will."

There is nothing in this Creed that the most conservative Jew cannot subscribe to. It contains the chief doctrines of Judaism and not merely "of Reformed Judaism." There is no need of any other. Only for the sake of asserting our spiritual independence over against Orthodoxy, a declaration of the principles of Reform Judaism is from time to time necessary, such as was made at the Rabbinical Conferences at Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. For, according to Maimonides' Code *Hilkot Teshubah* iii: 6-8, those who deny either the divine origin of every letter of the Law and of the Oral Law, or Resurrection and the Advent of the Messiah, are heretics and are excluded from future salvation—a proof, by the way, that Maimonides did not recede from the position taken in his *Mishnah Commentary* to *Sanhedrin* x: 1. Nor even after he had written the *Moreh*, did he retract one iota from his declaration that Judaism rests upon the thirteen articles (see his "*Maamar ha Yihud*" ii, at the close).

In accepting the changes made by the various Reform rabbis and Rabbinical Conferences in the Ritual, the Reform Congregations, whether of Germany or of America, have implicitly renounced the belief in the Immutability of the Mosaic Law—at least in regard to Sacrifice, in Resurrection and the Per-

sonal Messiah. And yet we claim to be not "Reformed Jews," but *Jews*. We feel and declare ever anew our perfect allegiance to Judaism, which to us is not a system of Law bound up in the Pentateuch and the Rabbinic Code, but a living and ever-expanding, ever-deepening and ever-progressing truth committed into the care of Israel from the very beginning to the end of history.

When the first Reform ritual was introduced in Hamburg, Isaac Bernays and his orthodox allies pronounced the anathema upon the Prayer Book and the Temple; it was of no avail. The Reform movement has made steady progress ever since that time, nor will it be checked by the champions of conservatism whose power appears to be in the ascendancy at present, but we shall ever insist on being in full continuity with the Judaism of the past. Only as far as we oppose the principle of stability and stagnation are we Reformers, otherwise we claim to stand upon the historical ground of Judaism, upon "the rock from which we are hewn." While recognizing wide differences of opinion, of belief, and of practice in Judaism throughout all the lands and the ages, we know of but one Torah, one Israel, and one God.

It is in accord with this view that the sainted Dr. Isaac M. Wise ever reiterated the proposition before this Conference, to formulate *the principles*, not of Reform Judaism, but *of Judaism*. Indeed, the demand for a lucid and comprehensive and systematic presentation of the theological views and principles of Judaism in sharp contradistinction to non-Jewish systems of belief is felt everywhere to-day. Too long Judaism has been studied and viewed merely as Law or as Literature, but not as a living truth, as a system of faith and doctrine. The mediæval Jewish thinkers under the influence of Arabian thought and research gave us a religious philosophy, not a theology to enable us to grasp the various subjects of faith in a positive form. We possess no work which furnishes sufficient information concerning the essence of Judaism and the different elements constituting it. A few attempts have been made within recent years in England by Schechter, Montefiore, and Morris Joseph, and in Germany by Gudeman and Leo Baeck; they are valuable aids but not of a character as to equal in power and thoroughness the works of Christian theology. In fact, as Prof. Margolis has well said, we can only blame ourselves for the influential position accorded to Weber's work on the theology of the Synagogue written in the cause of the Church militant, because we have failed to give to the world a correct exposition of Jewish theology either of the Biblical or the Talmudical time, or of our day. Let that theology of Judaism be written not in an apologetic nor in a partisan and subjective, but in an objective spirit in the light of modern research. Let it be written both in an historical and a systematic form, not by one man—no single individual can undertake this heroic task—but by a body of men, each master in his special sphere, upon a plan large enough to do justice to each view, conservative as well as progressive, and the world will learn to

understand and appreciate Judaism as Israel's trust and glory of the ages. And this will especially aid in the full comprehension of the aims and hopes as well as achievements of modern Judaism which the trumpet blasts of the Reform pioneers have roused from long slumber to make it again a living truth, a living faith, and a living hope for mankind.

In order to work out this plan, a committee should be appointed which is to place itself in communion with other bodies having similar objects in view and report on the same at the next Rabbinical Conference.

DR. K. KOHLER, Chairman.

It would be ungracious on my part were I to point out that Dr. Kohler's critique of my Detroit effort, which occupies the major portion of his Report on the Advisability of Formulating a Creed (see last YEAR BOOK, p. 6), free as it is from personalities and coming as it does from a theologian possessing as few others the qualifications for his task, might have been saved either for some learned publication or for the use of the future committee, the creation of which is called for in the report, and is perhaps out of place when brought before a numerous body for a hasty vote signifying approval or disapproval in matters which represent scientific facts or judgments based on scientific information. Much as I am tempted to meet the scholarly critique by an anti-critique, I relinquish my rights at this juncture, thus avoiding the displeasure of our efficient Editorial Committee, at the same time reserving my answer to all of my critics in this country as well as abroad for another occasion and for another place. A few points, however, must be met here in all brevity. "Reform Judaism" is a literal translation of the German "Reformjudentum" and therefore represents a Germanism with which we of the younger generation prefer not to burden our speech. As for the meaning of the term *ḥados*, I might claim the privilege of the philologist to determine it, were I not convinced that ethical holiness implies the metaphysical concept of transcendental holiness. That alone is ethically holy, or, to use a synonym, pure, which, while acting in the mundane sphere and in mundane affairs, while entering into relations with the ever-changeable conditions of society, is itself supramundane, unconditioned, eternal. Only a holy—holy in the sense of transmundane, though immanent—God can have a holy, ethical, will. In point of fact, "holy" is in the first instance a ritual, hence religious, term (ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 140 ff.) and becomes invested with an ethical signification only through the later ethicizing of religion. The paraphrase of *Lev. xii, 44* ("Be ye holy, for I am holy") in *SIFRA* (*Šmini*, c. 12), "As I am separated, so be ye separated (*paruš, prušim*)" shows that to the rabbis "holy" was principally a religious term, including the ethical, but more than it. Pharisaism itself becomes in this light the quintessence of Jewish thought and Jewish life: *prisūt* is *ḥduša*. JUDAH HA-LEVI (my reprint, p. 19,

esp. footnote 56) explicitly connects the meaning of Transcendence with the adjective "kadoš" in Bible and Prayer Book. See also ДУМ, *Commentary*, on *Isaiah* i, 4. Dr. Kohler reiterates the criticism of my application of "finality" to our own phase of Judaism. The language which I used when addressing the Detroit Conference is exactly the same as found in the reprint, p. III, last three lines; only the parenthesis is an addition. The context will show that the "finality" I spoke of refers to the Church-idea of which I shall speak in a moment. All these are, however, minor points compared with the criticism of my Creed itself. Now, it will be readily admitted that, no matter how carefully you word propositions dealing with matters of belief, especially when you adopt the untechnical language of the Bible and our Book of Prayer, it requires little effort on the part of your critics to misunderstand you. It is exactly for this reason that I believe that no Creed should be published without "an exhaustive historical and theological commentary," as I expressed myself in the very motion which is the subject of this Committee's report (reprint, p. 123). Moreover, in that very motion I left it to the discretion of the Committee which I ask the Conference to charge with the preparation of the Creed, to ignore my own draft and to write one *de novo*. I am far from being a slave to my own literary productions. The MARGOLIS CREED may be faulty, but the MARGOLIS MOTION for the preparation of a Creed is favored by this very Committee, as will be shown below. My presentation in the *J. Q. R.* article which the Chairman has incorporated in his report is in no way a theological "reformulation," although the arrangement is perhaps more felicitous. The Jewish doctrine of inspiration, I agree with Dr. Kohler, partakes of the nature of an ecclesiological article rather than of an anthropological. What Dr. Kohler calls the genius of Israel, whether it be the result of racial endowment or of environmental conditions in the wider sense including historical phenomena (VIERKANDT, *Naturvölker und Kulturvölker*, 1896, 310 ff.), is, theologically expressed, God revealing Himself in Israel. Because Israel is the elect of God, her sons are prophets; and because her sons are prophets, she is the elect of God. The divine Law is the sum total of Israel's spiritual culture, "even what a capable disciple may discover in the future"; it is immutable as a whole, though subject to change in its parts. The Law is never abrogated, parts thereof merely coming into disuse, dying that others may live. Our Holy Scriptures represent our classic literature coming from a time when our minds were plastic and receptive of the divine fulness of inspiration. The Messianic hope implies a new and more glorious revelation which indeed we have a right to believe is being slowly prepared and for which we may safely assume with Maimuni that Christianity and Islam have paved the way. Nothing more cogently justifies our holy determination to keep up our identity in the face of difficulties untold than this hope that "*šenit l'ene kol hai*" God will choose from among our children His servant and prophet who will far transcend his predecessors. If by the personal Messiah we must understand him who is to gather the dispersed and lead them back to a restored

Jerusalem, we Reformed Jews repudiate a personal Messiah; we equally repudiate a transcendent heavenly being sitting at the right hand of the Deity and judging the dead and the quick. We are neither Zionists nor Paulinists. We are Jews in the full sense of the word. To us, however, the Messiah who is to come from our loins is a prophet, not a political dynast or a celestial archangel. There is so much common ground upon which all sections of Jewry stand that I do not apprehend the fear that a clear formulation of our own platform will be construed as a schism. Modern Jewry, whether we wish it or not, is divided at least into three larger or smaller camps. There are those who look upon Jewry as an *ethnos* capable of re-nationalization; they are the Zionists, their Messiah has come, and they have effected an organization with a view to the realization of their dreams. There are those who are naively orthodox and still encumber themselves with a dual set of obligations, national and political; their Messiah is yet to come who will re-create the ancient organization in all its hierocratic forms. We are at the other end: to us the Jewish body is not an *ethnos*, but an *ecclesia*. Our aim is not the Zangwillian co-ordination of a Jewish autonomous nation with the nations of the earth so that it may live its own national life and perhaps be an example to the other nations of the world. We look upon the dispersion as final, and we would co-ordinate ourselves with the Christian Church or any other body which takes the religious interests of human kind into its keeping. With them we wish to work for the betterment of mankind; it is our hope that in the fulness of time the God of Israel will be recognized as the God of the world. We must effect our organization which, since we reject the Zionist national form of government, in the nature of the case must be ecclesiastic. A Creed, let me add, is not for the individual; it is rather for the body. The Synagogue, in order to compete with the Church and in order to be understood by the Church, must make her position known; *that* we stand for, *that* we believe in, *that* we hope for.

So much for my own attitude that it may be understood in its main bearings, no matter what one's opinion may be of the value of my previous effort.

As for the recommendations made by the Chairman at the end of his valuable report, which you are to vote upon at this session, it seems to me that, if we are guided by parliamentary procedure, Dr. Kohler's propositions are in the nature of an amendment to my motion made at the Detroit Conference. In a personal note, Dr. Kohler is very kind to speak of our differences as a *mahaloket lsem šamaim*. When examined at closer range, we differ only upon the subject of the third section of my motion, *to wit*, as to the advisability of laying the Creed before a Synod for confirmation. I must say that, although I am more than willing to learn from men older and wiser than I, I cannot be convinced that such an act would involve a breach with the entire body of Israel. However, as the creation of a Synod is to be decided upon in separate action, affirmatively or negatively, at this very session, and as the

importance of a Synod is in my opinion so great that it may safely for the present be excused from undertaking creedal statements, I gladly waive for the time being the consideration of section 3 of my motion. The first and second sections are accepted by the Chairman of this Committee, except that he recommends that a shorter statement minus commentary be prepared for insertion in our liturgy. I am in perfect accord with the latter recommendation and, in conformity with parliamentary rule, I accept it as a part of my original motion made at the Detroit Conference. Thus, unless I misunderstand the report to which the name of Dr. Kohler is subscribed, the motion before you is as follows:

1. That this Conference appoint a Committee to elaborate a plan for the publication of a work setting forth, from a historical as well as a dogmatic point of view, the beliefs held by modern Jews which in our opinion are those of Judaism; and

2. That a short statement of the Creed of Judaism as understood by us be prepared for insertion in our liturgy.

If Dr. Kohler have no objection that the motion be presented to you in this form, I am ready to add my own signature to his important document, thus avoiding a minority report. I regret very much my inability of being with you at this Conference, but Dr. Kohler knows that owing to my contemplated transfer of activities I must spend my summer in Berkeley doing work in our common cause, as I am busy with writing a review of the year's history for the Jewish Year Book as well as with a translation of the Books of Kings, both to appear under the auspices of the Jewish Publication Society. Let me also express the wish that, in view of the onerous duties which I have undertaken for the next academic year, I may be excused from serving on the Committee which Dr. Kohler's report calls for, and on which you may desire to place me out of mere courtesy. And may God be with you in your deliberations!

MAX L. MARGOLIS.

NEW ORLEANS, June 28, 1905.

Dear Dr. Kohler: My tardiness in returning final answer to your report is due to my state of health which, especially at this season of the year, makes work exceedingly difficult. For this and other reasons I prefer not to detail my differences, especially as my conclusions tally with yours. I am particularly gratified to perceive that you recommend a statement of the principles of *Judaism*, not merely of its Reform aspect and that you do not recommend re-adoption of the Pittsburgh platform which, to my feeling, represents in more than one way, *einen ueberwundenen Standpunkt*.

Such discussions as these not only argue for our Conference a degree of earnestness and moral courage which the orthodox wing does not seem to have risen to, but they make the Central Conference something of an intellectual center for American Judaism. We are, all of us, under important

obligations to yourself and Prof. Margolis for the thoroughness and devotion with which you have attacked these momentous questions.

I am, with fraternal greeting,

Very respectfully yours,

MAX HELLER.

The undersigned, as a member of the committee on Prof. Margolis' paper begs to concur in the conclusions of the committee report to the effect:

1. That the formulation of a creed for Reform Judaism is, in the interest of the union and gradual unfolding of Pan-Judaism, inadvisable.

2. That the basic principles of Reform Judaism forbid the hard and fast lines of a creed.

3. That a systematic exposition of the principles of Judaism constitutes our real need.

A number of views and strictures, needless to specify, is advanced in the report, with many of which the undersigned cannot agree; he, therefore, prefers to join in the committee's recommendation without affixing his signature to their admirably scholarly and thorough report.

MAX HELLER.

OAKLAND, CAL., June 15, 1905.

The Rev. Dr. K. Kohler, Chairman of Committee on Theological Aspects of Reformed Judaism:

DEAR AND REVEREND SIR: I beg to state that I fully endorse your report in all that you set forth in direct variance from, and criticism upon, Prof. Margolis' paper. Your objections are just and lucid, your arguments are comprehensive and exhaustive, and your closing suggestions have the stirring tone of Jewish התלהבות

To add my own reasons for agreeing with your criticism would be, in the main, a repetition of what I said in my discussion of the professor's paper. I cannot, however, refrain from remarking that I am especially glad to notice the emphasis you are laying on "Providence," on the "Moral government of the universe," the belief "In an all-encompassing divine Providence which makes all things," a belief which, to my mind, is a cardinal dogma, and which, as I, too, pointed out, the professor has omitted. The Scriptural *הַצֹּר תָּמִים פָּעִלוּ כִּי כָל דְּרָכָיו כְּשֶׁפֶשׁ* which is adopted in our liturgy on occasions of the greatest affliction, and the Talmudic *כָּל מָא דַּעֲבִיד רַחֲמָנָא* are an uncompromising protest against modern Utilitarianism, against Epicurean hedonism, and against Aristotelian Eudæmonism. Judaism insists on Divine Providence. It stands for an ethics in which this imperious "ought-to-be" and "ought-to-do" are the dictates of the human conscience as inspired by divine righteousness and divine holiness; in which this "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not" is determined not by material welfare,

or mental pleasure, but by the longing within us to approach the All-ruling spirit who is the source of our yearnings, impulses, and motives; in brief, Judaism stands for an ethics in which the human soul is a divine effusion, thus making the voice of God speaking in man and through man. This view of a "Moral Universe," rooted in what you term "Ethical Theism," invests life with divine purpose, gives duty a religious substratum, and helps to clarify many things otherwise obscure, perplexing, and despairing.

I will say in closing that, in our time when the rush, greed, and restlessness of life are threatening wholesale conversion to the spurious doctrine that life is built up of nothing but necessity, the Conference, as an organized body of Jewish teachers, should direct its chief efforts towards making the dogma of Providence, *השגחה*, regain its hold upon Jewish consciousness, and through it, upon the consciousness of humanity at large.

M. FRIEDLANDER,
Member of Committee.

CHICAGO, 11. Juni, 1905.

Herrn Dr. Kohler, Vorsitzender des Comite, etc.

GEEHRTER HERR DOCTOR: Ihren vor zwei Tagen mir zugekommenen Bericht über die Abhandlung des Herrn Prof. Margolis "On the Religious Aspects of Reformed Judaism" habe ich mit sehr grossem Interesse und mit Dank für die darin enthaltenen Belehrungen durchgelesen. Diese Abhandlung, welche Sie einer so eingehenden Kritik unterzogen, läuft am Ende auf die Anträge hinaus, "that the Conference appoint a committee charged with preparing the Creed of Reformed Judaism . . . that the Conference, after adopting the work of the Committee, lay the Creed before a Synod for confirmation . . . that the Synod promulgate the Creed presented to it by the Conference as THE CREED OF THE REFORMED JEWISH CHURCH OF AMERICA . . . that the quinquennial conventions of the Synod be particularly charged with the revision of the Creed, if such revision is recommended by the Conference . . . that the Conference have a standing Committee on Creed and Doctrinal Matters." (Year Book of the C. C. A. R., XIII, pp. 307 and 308.)

Was ich nun persönlich über diese merkwürdigen Anträge, eine mit so weitgehender Macht ausgestattete Synode in's Leben zu rufen, und offiziell durch sie ein Credo für das Reformjudenthum zu promulgiren, denke, das dürfte Ihnen vielleicht aus meinem Aufsätzchen bekannt sein, das ich im vorigen Jahre in der Louisville Rabbinerversammlung verlesen habe, und das im Year Book, Vol. XIV, abgedruckt ist. Ob sie auch meinen Zusatzartikel, der vor etlichen Wochen in der Jewish Tribune erschien zu Gesicht bekommen haben, weiss ich nicht. Aber jedenfalls ist es Ihnen bekannt, welche Stellung ich gegenüber diesen Fragen einnehme. Ich bin entschieden *gegen* die unseligen Synodalstrebungen, und bin entschieden *gegen* die Zumuthung, die Conferenzzmitglieder sollten als eine Versammlung von

Glaubensartikelmachern sich constituiren und als eine solche sollten sie eine ganz neue und unerhörte Periode der jüdischen Geschichte eröffnen, sie sollten "das Volk Israel" ausmerzen aus der Geschichte der Vergangenheit und aus dem Dasein in der Gegenwart, und dafür etwas ganz Nagelneues schaffen, "eine jüdische Kirche." Für eine solche würde selbstverständlich das eine zusammenhaltende Band eine Reihe von Dogmen sein müssen, und weiter nichts.

Aber sollte man so die Wege zu eigenem Forschen und zum Bekennen der selbsterrungenen Ueberzeugungen verbauen dürfen? Sollte man so es wagen wollen, unsern jüdischen Brüdern das Licht abzusperren und denkenden und frommen Juden eine geistliche Bevormundung aufzubürden?

Freunde haben mir gesagt, es möchte mir vorgeworfen werden, der Ton meiner zwei oben erwähnten Artikel sei—ganz gegen meine sonstige Art—allzuenergisch gewesen. Vielleicht ist es so. Aber ich muss gestehen, dass ich tief erregt war, dass ich es heute noch bin, wenn ich daran denke, dass Manche drauf und dran sind, eine "Synode" in's Leben zu rufen, eine "Kirchenversammlung" mit der Macht, selbst den *Glauben* der Juden zu regeln, und noch Weiteres mehr. Das erschien mir doch als allzustarker Tabak. Das war und ist ein meuchlerisches Attentat auf unsere geistige Freiheit, auf unsere "Persönlichkeit," die doch nach Göthe's Wort "das höchste Gut der Erdenkinder" ist.

Meine Sprache war zu scharf? Wohlan, Lessing war doch noch ganz anders derb, als er gegen den Hauptpastor Göze, etc., seine Lanze einlegte, und so war es Ulrich von Hutten in seinem Kampfe gegen die Dunkelmänner, und so waren es die Dichter der Xenien in ihren Epigrammen, die sie gegen die Niedrigkeiten und Widrigkeiten mancher ihrer literarischen Zeitgenossen hinaus schleuderten. Wenn nun solche Geistesriesen in solcher Weise auftraten, darf da ein so unbedeutender Mann, wie unsereiner es ist, nicht ein Aehnliches thun? Und so bestreite ich es, dass ich über die Schnur gehauen habe. Eine viel derbere Sprache wäre selbst noch am Platze gewesen. Es kocht in mir heute noch, wenn ich an jene Pläne denke.

Sehen Sie z. B. noch einmal den Aufsatz des Herrn Prof. Margolis nach, der im vorigen Jahre im Hebrew Union College Annual erschienen ist, und der die Ueberschrift trägt: "The Church and the Individual." Derselbe schliesst mit den Worten: Let us have a strong ecclesiastical government, EVEN AT THE RISK OF A FEW HERESY TRIALS. Abgesehen von diesem entsetzlichen Schlussatz, so ist schon die Ueberschrift genügend, um an die schönen Zeiten der "heiligen Allianz" in den vormärzlichen Jahrzehnten des vorigen Jahrhunderts zu erinnern, da ein Professor Heinrich Leo, ein Professor Hengstenberg, ein Professor Görres, ein Kirchenrath Stahl u. A. solche Artikel in die Welt hinausschickten mit der Ueberschrift: "Die Kirche und das Individuum," und da Jarcke und andere Publicisten im Dienste des Fürsten Metternich und der absoluten Monarchie Artikel auf Artikel schrieben:

„Der Staat und das Individuum.“ Und hat nicht Pobiedonoszew, oder wie er sonst heisst, ähnliches hohes Staatsrecht und Kirchenrecht verkündet? Und nicht auch der heilige Ignatius von Loyola? Und nun werden solche Stimmen laut im freien Amerika—im 20. Jahrhundert—unter aufgeklärten freien Juden! Soll man da nicht aus seinem Phlegma aufgerüttelt werden? In den Quark mit solchem Gerede! In den Quark mit solchen Bestrebungen!

Es ist ausserordentlich zu beklagen, und es thut mir in der Seele weh, dass ein so gelehrter und tüchtiger Mann, wie Prof. Margolis es ist, ein Mann der mit Recht auf seinem Spezialgebiet der semitischen Philologie als einer der ersten Autoritäten im Lande gilt, solche wahrhaft mittelalterliche Forderungen aufstellte, die man schon längst überwunden glaubte und dass eine Anzahl hochachtbarer und gewiss alles Gute und Edle anstrebender Collegen im Rabbineramt ihm zustimmten und dadurch dem antimittelalterlichen Geiste, dem Geiste der Freiheit—der „Freiheit“ im angelsächsischen Sinn des Wortes—geradezu in's Gesicht schlugen. Oder wollen sie vielleicht den falschen Freiheitsgötzer, der sogenannten Gallicanischen Freiheit ein Piedestal errichten im freien America, im geistesfreien Israel?

Gewiss, Scheiterhaufen wird man nicht bauen, auch nach Sibirien wird man nicht die Ketzer schicken. Aber warten Sie nur einmal. Es darf Sie nicht wundern, wenn nach 10 oder 15 Jahren in der heiligen Synode einmal salbungswoll erklärt wird: „Zu unseren grossen Bedauern haben wir gehört, dass unser Bruder in dem Herrn, der ehrwürdige Professor X. am Union College, oder unser College, der hochwürdige Dr. Y., Rabbi im Smithville, öffentlich diese oder jene Ketzerei gelehrt habe, ganz im Widerspruch mit unserer Kirche. Wir beten, dass unser irrender Bruder das rechte Licht bald wiederschauen möge,“ u. s. w. Eventuell wird eine zweite Verwarnung kommen, und diese wird schärfer sein. Eventuell wird Unfriede gesäet werden zwischen mancher Gemeinde und manchen Rabbiner oder Lehrer.

Man komme nicht mit dem Argumente, dass man ja in Amerika Niemanden zwingen, bei der „Kirche“ zu bleiben; wem's da nicht gefällt, könne ja austreten, u. s. w. So? Ist das wirklich so? Ein calvinistischer Geistlicher, dem es in seiner „Kirche“ nicht mehr behagt, kann austreten, oder er kann auch von der Synode seiner Kirche ausgetreten werden. Ist es bei Juden—bei Juden, die in Folge ihrer Geburt dem jüdischen Volk angehören—auch so der Fall? Kann man zum Prof. Steinthal sagen, zu einem Manne, der nach dem Zeugnis aller Derer, die ihn gekannt haben, ein warmherziger und tiefreligiös angelegter Jude war, und überdies ein Lehramt an einer jüdisch-theologischen Lehranstalt bekleidet: Sie haben die Glaubensartikel, die wir Kraft unseres Amtes gemacht haben, zu unterschreiben, oder Sie haben virtuell aufgehört, ein Jude zu sein? Oder kann man

* Ueber Steinthal's Theolog. Ansichten, vgl. z. B. die zwei Aufsätze, „Zur Religionsphilosophie,“ in Band VIII und Band IX der Zeitschr. für Völkerpsychologie.

mit solchen Reden Leuten wie dem von echter Religiosität erfüllten Samson Raphael Hirsch oder dem strengorthodoxen Seligmann Bär Bamberger gegenüber treten, weil sie nicht an die "messianische Zeit," sondern an einen persönlichen Messias glauben?

Ihre Zeit ist kostbar, mein werter Herr Doctor, und ich darf Sie nicht mit weitem Worten bemühen. Aber das muss ich doch noch einmal wiederholen, dass ich Ihren Report mit steigendem Interesse gelesen und mit steigendem Interesse es wahrgenommen habe, dass Sie in Ihrer historisch-kritischen wie im Ihrer philosophisch-systematischen Beleuchtung der Margolisschen Abhandlung sich wiederum als der alte Meister bewährt haben. Wahrlich, Sie haben tief gepflügt, und in weiten Gebieten haben Sie geforscht. Zu manchen Einzelheiten hätte ich gerne noch einige Randglossen mir erlaubt. Aber wozu? Derartige Arbeiten wie die Ihrigen müssen *studirt* werden (צריך ללמוד), aber ein Gegenstand der Abstimmung in einer Versammlung der C. C. A. R. oder in einer ähnlichen Versammlung kann eine solche Abhandlung nimmermehr sein. Eben so wenig wie man etwa vor einem solchen Forum durch Mehrheitsbeschluss die Frage zum Abschluss bringen kann, ob Rabbi Juda der Heilige die Mischnah geschrieben habe oder nicht; oder wer der Antoninus gewesen sei, der als Freund des Rabbi Juda so oft genannt wird; oder in welchem Land und zu welcher Zeit Elasar Hakalir gelebt habe, und dergleichen mehr, ebenso wenig ist die bevorstehende Konferenz in Cleveland befugt, oder berechtigt, über einen solchen Report abzustimmen. Und nun gar *Dogmen* festlegen zu wollen durch zufällige, Mehrheitsbeschlüsse in einer sogenannten Synode, das sollte man sich anmassen dürfen?

Mit freundschaftlichen Grüßen, Ihr

B. FELSENTHAL

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I move the recommendation of this committee, found at the end of Dr. Kohler's paper that a committee be appointed to place itself in correspondence with other bodies with the object of considering a creed. (Carried.)

Moved and seconded that the Committee on the President's Message bring in its report, and that same be taken up.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

As regards Recommendation 1:

Since the pamphlet "Views of the Synod" discloses so wide a variety of opinion, and since there are similar differences of opinion among the members of this committee, as well as among the members of the Conference at large, as to the meaning, purpose, and advisability of the Synod, we recommend that the Executive Committee appoint a commission of seven to define the

character and scope of a synod and to formulate as precisely as possible a plan for its composition and mode of procedure, and that the report of this commission, which is to be in the hands of the members of the Conference by April, 1906, shall be the basis for the discussion on the Synod at the next Conference.

As regards Recommendation 2:

In view of the indications that sectarianism is invading more and more the precincts of the public school, and in view of the growing tendency in Sunday legislation to interfere with the rights of conscience of our coreligionists, who sincerely and strictly observe the historical Sabbath, the committee concurs in the recommendation of the president that a standing committee be appointed to be called the Committee on Relation of Church and State, whose function shall be to collect literary material bearing on the subject, and we earnestly recommend that the Committee on Civil and Religious Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations be requested to co-operate with this committee by publishing and by distributing this material in places where such matters may become burning questions and require immediate and effective treatment. We recommend further that plates of the report of the Committee on Sectarianism presented at this Conference, be made, and as many copies be printed from time to time as may be necessary, at the discretion of the Executive Committee.

As regards Recommendation 3:

The committee reports that anti-Semitism being a political creed among some European peoples, and, God be thanked, there being no such creed in this country, we do not consider it necessary to appoint a committee on anti-Semitism, much as we deplore any and all evidences of anti-Jewish social prejudices.

As to Recommendation 4:

While the president naturally desired to emphasize the fact that persecution and ostracism made and make for the so-called exclusiveness of the Jew, the committee feels impelled to re-emphasize the fundamental truths that the real bond of union among Jews is the historic consciousness of being a priest people among the nations, and that his birth imposes upon the Jew the mission to witness to and to work for the realization of the kingdom of the one God, which implies one humanity. This entails upon him the duty of suffering martyrdom, if necessary, until God shall be known as One and His name One. Therefore, this real bond of union is not imposed from without, but comes from within.

As to Recommendation 5:

We favor a uniform pronunciation of Hebrew in synagogues and schools, as far as practicable, as well as a uniform mode of transliteration, and suggest that the matter be submitted to the faculties of our two rabbinical seminaries.

As to Recommendation 6:

We recommend that a committee be appointed to prepare a study on the history and influence of the Sunday service in Jewish congregations both in Europe and in America.

As to Recommendation 7:

We heartily congratulate all those who have been instrumental in forming Congregation Israel of Philadelphia, on their success, and regret that the state of our treasury does not permit us to make a financial contribution to that worthy cause, and heartily recommend all such work to the Synagogue Extension Committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to our philanthropic coreligionists.

As to Recommendation 8:

We sincerely concur in recommendation No. 8, and suggest that the Executive Board appoint a Committee to draft suitable resolutions on the late Rev. Dr. Lippman Mayer and include these resolutions in the forthcoming Year Book and to send a copy thereof to the family.

We concur in recommendation No. 9.

In view of the fact that recommendation No. 10 would involve a serious change in the policy and constitution of the Conference, the committee is not prepared to make any recommendation at present.

DAVID PHILIPSON, *Chairman*,
K. KOHLER,
JOSEPH STOLZ,
MOSES J. GRIES,
H. G. ENELOW,
SAMUEL SCHULMAN,
C. A. RUBENSTEIN,
MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT.

MINORITY REPORT

It is the belief of the minority of the Committee on President's Message that sufficient time for preparation has been given to the members of the Conference to vote on the question of the Synod, and therefore I concur in the president's recommendation that a vote be forthwith taken, and therefore recommend that we do not institute a Synod.

SAMUEL SCHULMAN.

RABBI STOLZ.—The report will involve a great deal of discussion. We have a paper on Rashi, and then reports of committees. That this be the order of business I offer as an amendment.

RABBI ENELOW.—I would amend the amendment. I do not think it is just to the other committees. The other committees are ready; I believe we ought do our work according to the program. (Seconded.)

RABBI SCHULMAN.—I rise to speak on the original motion, to take up the report of the Committee on the President's Message, and I have only one argument to make for it. I came here to take part in the discussion of one of the recommendations which I learned that the President was to make, and I also learned that this matter was to come up for discussion this afternoon. To be in attendance upon this discussion I considered a serious duty; and since I wish to leave to-night, I desire that the original motion would be carried.

PRESIDENT.—The question is that we take up the amendment to the amendment, and proceed with our work according to the program. (Defeated.)

PRESIDENT.—The amendment is before the house, that we take up the Rashi paper at once, and hear the report of the Committee on the President's Message afterwards.

Amendment lost.

PRESIDENT.—The original motion, which is now before you, is that we take up the report of the Committee on the President's Message.

Carried.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—As Chairman, I wish to announce that the report has not been copied completely.

RABBI GRIES.—I move that while we are waiting Rabbi Enelow read the report of his committee. (Carried.)

Report of Committee on Sunday Rituals was called for.

RABBI KOHLER.—I move that the report be received and discussed. (Carried.)

RABBI GRIES.—I want to put the matter in definite form. I move that the recommendation contained in the report be adopted.

RABBI HECHT.—I amend it that the part of the report referring to publication be referred to the Executive Committee.

RABBI GRIES.—The report only authorizes publication, and if the Conference approves of this, then the Executive Committee will do it.

RABBI MOSES.—A special ritual for a Sunday service is a dangerous beginning. Sunday service has been introduced into about thirteen congregations. And by making a special prayer book for Sunday services you thereby come before your congregations and the country and State that our Shabbos is not sufficient, that our weekday service is not sufficient, that the Sunday is something special, and that is not the intention of the majority of members of the Conference. In addition, this will be a detraction from the Union Prayer Book. In congregations where there is only a Sunday service, the Sunday ritual will supplant the Union Prayer Book. In the good old Tefillah you had a prayer book suitable for everything. If the Union Prayer Book is not sufficient, then do something to improve the Union Prayer Book, but do not go ahead and print new books. I warn you, brethren, against going before the Jewish public with a ritual for Sunday. We will also expose ourselves to a tax which we do not want to bear. Make your selections for Sunday from the Union Prayer Book, and if you want to use anything besides the Union Prayer Book, read the Bible. Be careful, gentlemen. I, as one who has had the sorrows and labors of Sunday services, tell you that we will win nothing by this work, and possibly lose much.

RABBI RAPPAPORT.—There is a committee out to bring in a report on the President's message, one part of which is regarding Sunday services. If this committee brings in a report rejecting Sunday services, what will you do with the report of this committee? I move that you change the wording, and make it a Monday rather than a Sunday service.

RABBI KOHLER.—I think our colleague is inclined to take a small view of great things. This is altogether too serious to be treated in such a trifling manner. This is a question of life and death for Judaism, as we shall see afterwards, whether we shall be forever sat-

ified with half a "minyan," a baker's dozen of men, or prefer the multitudes who crowd to hear the speakers on Sundays in our various houses of worship; whether we want to welcome the ladies in our synagogues on the Sabbath, or whether we want to preserve the spirit of Judaism in the hearts of the young. The question is, shall serious things be treated in a serious spirit? Therefore, I am sorry that Dr. Moses takes this small view.

RABBI HIRSCHBERG.—Dr. Moses needs no defense. I think that the preceding speaker entirely misunderstood Dr. Moses in the point that he made. This Conference, at Detroit, voted for the maintenance of the historical Sabbath. Therefore, I cannot see how, in consistency and truth, we can entertain a report of this kind, that has been submitted to us this afternoon. The adoption of this report amounts to the placing of the seal of approval and sanction by this Conference upon the Sunday service. How can we, in consistency and truth, without making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of the world, take such action?

PRESIDENT.—When was the committee appointed?

RABBI SCHULMAN.—To settle all this, I move that we hear the report of the Committee on the President's Message, since this committee will show that this discussion is illogical.

PRESIDENT.—You can move that the discussion be closed.

RABBI GRIES.—I do not believe that this is fair to the members of the committee, and I ask that before you close the discussion one of the members of the committee be heard in answer to the gentleman who has spoken. It makes no difference which one speaks.

RABBI ENELOW.—I am not in the habit of meeting things of this kind from the standpoint of practical policy. It is not necessary that these statements be refuted.

Motion to close discussion was lost.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—I would like to ask by whom this committee was appointed?

PRESIDENT.—By the Executive Committee.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—The Executive Committee has not authority to appoint such a committee.

PRESIDENT.—Inasmuch as the Conference never appointed such a committee this discussion is out of order.

RABBI STOLZ.—Mr. President, the Executive Committee appointed this committee with authority, since the Executive Committee makes the whole program, and this was to be a part of the program for this session.

PRESIDENT.—How did this matter come before the Executive Committee?

RABBI STOLZ.—A communication was received at the meeting of Executive Board held in Chicago.

PRESIDENT.—At which I was absent, I believe.

RABBI STOLZ.—A resolution was then presented by Rabbi Gries. The matter was very carefully considered there, and Rabbis Gries, Franklin, and Enelow were appointed to prepare this report, and also this work.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—I hold that this matter is illegal. The Constitution provides that the Executive Committee shall arrange for the papers to be read at the Conferences, and it is also to carry out the instructions of every previous Conference, and it has no power to take the initiative in a matter of this kind. The Conference itself is the only authority to take the initiative in establishing a committee for the purpose of creating a prayer book or Sunday ritual.

PRESIDENT.—I am inclined to think that the point made is well taken. But you can appeal from the decision of the Chair. I am obliged to drop the matter unless you appeal from the decision of the Chair.

RABBI GRIES.—With the permission of the Conference, I would like to ask Rabbi Silverman a question. (Permission granted.)

Was no committee appointed by the Executive Committee during your term of office, which was not authorized by the Conference?

RABBI SILVERMAN.—This Conference is the supreme body to take action in a matter of this kind.

RABBI GRIES.—I believe that such a committee is still in existence. The Committee on Ministers' Handbook was appointed by the Executive Committee at Cincinnati eight years ago. I would like to have the Recording Secretary read us the provision of the Constitution covering this matter.

RECORDING SECRETARY.—I think that Rabbi Silverman is right in the view he has taken, but I have no copy of the Constitution with me.

PRESIDENT.—The Executive Board is the servant of the Conference. It has authority to carry out its wishes, and to assign academic papers, but to enter upon such a work as this I believe it has no authority.

RABBI SCHULMAN.—What is now before the house?

PRESIDENT.—Nothing but the President's message.

RABBI GRIES.—With your permission I would like to make a statement to this Conference. We have had this question of Sunday service before us for many years. The position which is assumed to-day to my mind appears to be pure nonsense. The former President of this Conference was a Sunday service man. The mere election of such a man, in favor of Sunday services, and the election of the present President, who, too, is a Sunday service man, according to such interpretation, commits the Conference to Sunday service with favor. But this committee in presenting this report to this body did not wish to commit you to any new proposition. It was plainly said to be a Sunday service ritual. If you will read the report, you will see, that it says specifically that the ritual shall be in accordance with the weekly services. The report holds, that the Sunday service ritual be put in manuscript form and sent around for approval.

PRESIDENT.—Put it in the form of a motion.

Calls made for the report on President's Message, which was read by Rabbi Philipson, presenting the majority report.

Recommendation I.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—Rabbi Schulman's minority report is on this point. (Minority report read, followed by the reading of all other recommendations made unanimously by the committee.)

PRESIDENT.—You have heard the report of the committee. What is your pleasure?

RABBI S. MANNHEIMER.—I move that the report be received and that the recommendations be taken up seriatim. (Carried.) After reading of Recommendation I, Rabbi Friedlander moved that the majority report be adopted.

Rabbi Moses offered an amendment that the minority report be substituted for the majority report.

RABBI MOSES.—I would like to say a few words on this amendment. The President must have given ample thought and consideration to the situation. We have had the Synod question up for years, since the time our young scholar produced his scholarly paper on the subject. We have heard and read about the Synod, and some people did not know the difference between Synod and sin; they thought that there must be something sinful about the Synod. I hope that the educational campaign which has been carried on was in favor of those who were in favor of the Synod, and that they have now come to a better understanding of the uselessness of the Synod. I believe that I know the President's mind, when I say that he trusts that this question will to-day be put away for a long time to come.

RABBI FRIEDLANDER.—I have traveled 2600 miles with the chief object of saying what is right on this subject. I have given it a great deal of thought, and I have always felt and still feel that this is a particular duty of my profession as a religious leader in Israel. But, gentlemen, we are living in a peculiar country and age. We have

made remarkable progress, not only in investigations, explorations, and communications, but also in ideas and conceptions of things and needs. That which was a necessity last year, this year we find to be no necessity. This is the case with the Synod. This morning we listened to a most inspiring paper by one who I feel is the greatest of our living scholars. He gave us views on a subject that has been discussed for eighteen hundred years, and upon which we do not agree to-day. The Synod is a vital issue of American Judaism. Whether you vote for or against this question you will decide the fate of Israel's moral influence and spiritual life.

RABBI HECHT.—I am not going to plead, but to present a statement. The question before us is whether the minority report shall dispose of the question of the Synod, for at least ten years to come. It is true, that ever since the late lamented Dr. Wise broached that question it has lived in the minds of the members of this Conference. And yet, after different views on the Synod have lately been sent us, without any opportunity to study the matter thoroughly, without understanding what the real purport of this Synod is, we are asked that we should vote against it and be rid of it for a decade at least. I am not prepared to say whether I am in favor or against a Synod.

RABBI SCHULMAN.—I feel like saying to the members of the Conference that I do not believe I owe this body any apology for having been away so long, and having prevented myself from taking part in the deliberations which you have been carrying on for these past years on this question of the Synod. Yet, I heard that the Synod was to come up this year for a vote. Then it was that my conscience pricked me, and I could not rest, and I felt that I must say a word on this question of the Synod. So I have come. It was painful for me to present a minority report. I am quite aware of the courtesy that is generally extended to large numbers. And I hesitated during the last twenty-four hours, before I made up my mind that it was duty which commanded me to put myself on record in my humble way in the form of a report of a minority of one. I came to the conclusion, that it was my duty to bring in this minority report. What is this report? Do not misunderstand it. I do not

ask you, by voting for the minority report, to kill the Synod. As I have clear and unalterable convictions as to the inadvisability of instituting a Synod, how could I have consented to vote for the Synod, when I know the whole thing clearly. The President in his message recommended that the Conference take a vote, and I felt that after giving this explanation it would not be derogatory to present this report. The first part of the report says that we are prepared to vote, because last year you carried the motion in favor of a Synod by the vote of a majority of one. And then you said that we did not want a Synod that is carried by a vote of one. Then you prepared a masterly paper through a committee, which I have tried to digest. It is full of a variety of views on the Synod. Because of this variety of views it is to be postponed. Therefore, I say, come to a definite conclusion. I am opposed to the idea of the establishment of such a body. I vote negatively on the Synod because I assert that there is no anarchy in American Judaism, which seems to be the opinion of some, who appear to be in the majority. I have not been able to discover a lack of sympathy and harmony. If it is said that the Synod is necessary in order to bring to bear a certain amount of authority upon certain members who need faith, I say you do not need a Synod for that. The Synod would not bring about that which is expected from it, the putting an end to anarchy. The Synod that has no power to enforce its decisions cannot bring an end to this supposed condition of affairs. And the Synod that has power does not want to control us always. This Synod idea was presented to us in a brilliant paper recently issued by the Conference. I wish to take issue with some points in this paper. The author simply passed upon a few symptoms in the historic Jewish people. All that these Synods have done is to carry out a few rules and practical regulations. But no Synod declared what is to be believed, what is right and wrong. Isaac M. Wise was a living refutation of the idea of a Synod. I assert the untimeliness of a Synod at the present time. Even if a Synod were a good thing, it is untimely at the present moment. Religion and a catholic Synod we cannot have in Israel; it would be swamped in American Israel, we cannot have it. I prefer to be a heretic in catholic Israel, and to trust my own mind, rather than endorse the platform or creed of any organization that tries to

impose its beliefs upon me. It took Christianity four hundred years to express itself. What is your haste? Reform Judaism is the religion of the minority of the Jewry of the world. I do not apologize for that. We respect the prophetic spirit of Judaism. Reform Judaism arose on account of the conditions, and now it has come to be a Germano-American Judaism. Gentlemen, do you not realize that the physiognomy of American Judaism is to be changed much in some respects? Are you ready to give up your moral idea of reform? Are you willing to give up the confidence in your movement so that you can argue with the people, so that you can formulate what you believe in? I see no necessity for it, only danger in it. I hope for the time when there will be an American Judaism of a free spirit.

RABBI KOHLER.—In the minds of some, a Synod is to consist of Rabbis and a few learned laymen; in the minds of others, a Synod may be composed simply of liberal reform Rabbis, and members of reform congregations so that the Synod should be the reform center. In the minds of still others, a Synod is to be a catholic Synod, representing all opinions. And when it comes to the question as to whether it should be a catholic Synod, we are all afraid. There was a time when I advocated a Synod in America, because I was sure that American Judaism would have its progress and reform furthered by the existence of such a Synod. To-day matters have changed altogether. To-day it would be suicide if we were to advocate a catholic Synod, where we would be in the minority by all means.

RABBI ENELOW.—I do not desire to enter into a discussion of the merits or demerits of the Synod. Nor do I think this is a matter for us to decide at the present time. The question now before us is what is the most fair and judicious, the most intelligent and advantageous thing to do at the present juncture regarding the Synod. I had the pleasure of listening to the many arguments which have been brought out in this discussion, but I wish to inform some of those who have already spoken, that the question at the present time is not whether the arguments for or against the Synod are valid or invalid, but it is a question of giving the whole Jewish people an opportunity of formulating clear and definite opinions on this subject. If it

were said to me that by bringing this matter up at once we can get a majority, I would be opposed to bringing the question before this body at this time. Because I think that the whole country, clergy and laymen, have not had an opportunity to consider the question. I differ with the gentleman who made the able speech before Dr. Kohler in regard to the Synod, but this is not the question at the present moment. I am not going to review any of his arguments regarding my paper of the previous Conference. The question is not whether we should take action on this matter at the present time. The main argument upon which we must take action now is this: You remember how, at the last Conference at Louisville, we carried the Synod question, and, not deeming this a proper vote for the Synod, decided to conduct an educational campaign, to prepare literature, and to get the opinions of the members of our congregations, including both those for and against the Synod. The Conference has given its support to this movement. Eight hundred dollars was paid for the purpose of publishing this pamphlet, to say nothing of the energy and time of the Rabbis who helped with this work. The result has been that this pamphlet was issued about three or four weeks ago, and we have had little time to consider the paper. Therefore, I say we have had no real time for the study of this pamphlet. You also remember that one of the reasons why the committee was continued was that we all feel that a Synod, if it were to be established, could have value only if it were supported by the public opinion of this country. This public opinion can only be secured by discussing this question with the laymen of this country. The religious life is made not only by Rabbis and prophets, but also by the religious sentiments of men and women at large.

RABBI C. LEVI.—All may know my attitude. I am just as positively in favor of the Synod as the signer of the minority report is opposed to it. But, as stated by the previous speaker, this is not the question we wish to establish at the present time. Like the signer of this minority recommendation, I, too, have been anxious to get an extract of Judaism into a neat little package so that those of modern times may handle it conveniently.

RABBI STOLZ.—We have before us a little pamphlet containing views on the Synod, pro and con, and those who have read these views very carefully will know that some have one conception of the Synod, and others another. Dr. Schulman has in mind that the Synod has been in former times, and that the results in those times were not most worthy. Let us grant that this is true. I also said that the fundamental principle of reform Judaism is progress and development. We to-day, as reform Rabbis, have the right to ask what our conception of the Synod is in 1905. That conception has not been presented before you, and has not been worked out. And all that we ask is that you give a commission of seven permission to work during the next few months and see whether they cannot work out a system of Synod which would be acceptable to all members of this Conference, and to all the people of Israel.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—There are two propositions before us; the majority and the minority reports. The former commits this Conference to the establishing of a Synod.

PRESIDENT.—That is not correct.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—If I understand the report, it means the establishment of a Synod.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—That is not the intention of the committee.

RABBI SCHULMAN.—Let the Secretary read the preamble of the report, and this will make things clear.

If you accept this report, then I hold that you accept the idea of a Synod.

RABBI KOHLER.—I am a member of this committee signing the majority report, but I am against the Synod. I want all of our colleagues to get clear ideas about this matter, and this report has that end in view. Personally, I am against the Synod.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—There can be no misunderstanding of what a Synod is. Is there to be a Conference of American Rabbis, or are we to be displaced by a Synod? A Synod is a general ecclesiastical

assembly of laymen and Rabbis, while the Conference is composed of Rabbis only. The question you will decide to-day is whether you want a general assembly of Rabbis and laymen to decide theological and ritualistic questions for American Israel. I believe that we do not want a general assembly, I for one do not. I believe that the Rabbi is the spiritual and theological leader of the congregation.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I want to see if I can present this matter in its clarity. We have listened to the eloquent and fervid oration of the signer of the minority report as to his reason for opposing the Synod. I will not go into that question. It does not come into the majority report at all. I believe that my colleagues who read that majority report know exactly what we intend. It does not say one word about the establishment of a Synod, nor does any person, by voting for that majority report, commit himself one way or another. I have been pained at the course taken by this deliberative body. Action taken one year has been wholly at variance with action of the preceding year. I believe in consistency of action, even though I do not believe in consistency of thought. What is the status of this question? Last year this question was carried by a majority of one, and at my request, the President decided that because of the bareness of the majority, we would not take advantage of that fact, and at the suggestion of the majority report of the Committee on Synod, of which I was chairman, last year an educational campaign was decided upon. Have you entered upon this campaign? Your committee, appointed to prepare a pamphlet on Synodal literature, could not get that pamphlet out until the beginning of June. I would like to ask each one of you to answer to yourself, honestly, have you studied that pamphlet as it deserves to be studied? I believe there are quite a number on this floor who have not studied this question. Now, let this educational campaign, for which we have spent eight hundred dollars from our treasury, to say nothing of time and labor, go on. There is no need for haste, as has been said.

RABBI HIRSCHBERG.—I will vote for the majority report, but I do not wish to go on record as taking a stand in regard to the Synod.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—I would like to ask the chairman of this committee what kind of a Synod we are to have, one of laymen and clergy or just a gathering of Rabbis?

PRESIDENT.—The chairman has told you that you will know this next year.

RABBI STOLZ.—I would like to ask Rabbi Silverman what he meant by a Synod when, two years ago, in his presidential message, he recommended the establishment of a Synod?

RABBI SILVERMAN.—I meant a general assembly of Rabbis and laymen. Since then I have studied the question, and I have come to the conclusion that such a Synod would be detrimental to modern American Judaism, that it will create a schism in the whole House of Israel, and that the only Synod we can have is one of Rabbis.

PRESIDENT.—The motion before the house is the first part of the minority report, which will be read.

Amendment was proposed, that the minority report be substituted for the majority report.

RABBI ENELOW.—I would like to know what we are going to vote for.

PRESIDENT.—If a majority accept the proposition to substitute the minority report for the majority, then you proceed to vote on the two parts of the minority report, according to a previous motion.

RABBI ENELOW.—If you substitute the minority report for the majority report, you get no opportunity to vote on doing what that report asks in regard to continuing the educational campaign.

RABBI SCHULMAN.—As writer of the minority report, I would say that by substituting this for the majority report, you still have an opportunity to vote on the two parts contained in it, and your real purpose will be accomplished.

PRESIDENT.—Let us proceed to vote. By voting "yes" you kill the majority report.

Question is put before the Conference and minority report is lost.

RABBI GRIES.—Mr. Chairman, I move that the first paragraph of the majority report be adopted. (Carried.)

Recommendations of the report of the majority of the committee were passed upon separately, after which, upon motion, the report was adopted as a whole.

President announces, that Rabbis Gries and he were at the Chamber of Commerce this afternoon and deposited a wreath on the casket of Secretary Hay. The President said: We were received most cordially, and every respect was shown to the representatives of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. I have with me a letter from the gentleman in charge of the funeral services to be held in the Wade Memorial Chapel which will admit me to this service, to which but very, very few will be invited. In addition there will be held a public memorial service to-morrow afternoon at the Chamber of Commerce, at which Rabbi Gries is to make an address. Is it your pleasure, that we adjourn and attend that public memorial service or consider that our action in this matter is sufficient.

RABBI STOLZ.—I would move that we hold our session in the morning, and adjourn for the afternoon to attend public services at the Chamber of Commerce. (Carried.)

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 5, 1905.

Paper on "Rashi," by Prof. Schloessinger, was read by Rabbi E. Mannheimer. (*Vide* Appendix D.)

Vice-President Stolz took the chair.

RABBI KOHLER.—I rise to move a vote of thanks in hearty appreciation of the masterly and in every respect thorough essay of Dr. Schloessinger.

VICE-PRESIDENT.—If there is no objection, this will be referred to the Committee on Thanks for appropriate action. Is there any discussion? I would like to make a few remarks before you open the discussion. The anniversary of Rashi's death occurs at a time of

the year, when all the Rabbis are away, and they cannot bring this story of Rashi's life before their congregations. I would suggest that the Rabbis here assembled appoint a day, say sometime in November, when they are to speak on the life and work of Rashi, and that a reprint of the paper be made to be put into the hands of the Rabbis before that time and that bibliography be added.

RABBI KOHLER.—I would make that a motion in due form.

Motion with regard to Rashi Day carried.

Report of Committee on Synagogue Extension by Rabbi Geo. Zepin. (*Vide* Appendix E.)

PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the intensely interesting and brilliant, as well as suggestive, report of the genius who presides over our Synagogue Extension department is now before you.

RABBI KRASNOWETZ.—I move that this report be received and that this Conference extend a vote of thanks to Rabbi George Zepin. (Seconded.)

RABBI KOHLER.—I would divide this into two motions, first, that the report be received.

PRESIDENT.—The amendment is that the report be received.

RABBI KRASNOWETZ.—My motion is that the report be received with thanks.

PRESIDENT.—The amendment has not been seconded.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I second it. I do not think we ought thank Mr. Zepin for his report, since it would set a dangerous precedent. If you wish to thank Mr. Zepin for his work done I would vote with you.

President put the amendment to vote, which was carried.

RABBI KORY.—I have listened with a great deal of rapture to this account, and I feel that this Conference and Rabbi Zepin ought be congratulated upon receiving and presenting such an able report.

PRESIDENT.—If there is no objection, we will refer this to the Committee on Resolutions. We are ready for discussion of the report.

RABBI KOHLER.—The work of the Committee on Synagogue Extension deserves our recognition and commendation. It shows sympathy with those communities and elements of American Judaism for which he is working, and whatever and whenever anything is said in favor and recognition of Mr. Zepin's work, I shall be the very first to give my full share of tribute. But, I do not wish to be misunderstood if I say that had the late lamented Dr. Wise heard that harangue against reform which is also contained in this paper, he would have declared his unqualified dissent. First of all the writer represents reform as an endeavor to make Judaism as non-Jewish as possible. And here he misunderstands the whole spirit of reform. He speaks against assimilation. Why, Maimonides was an assimilator. He said that Alexander and all the great monarchs and monarchies worked for their own aggrandizement. He failed to see that these men worked for the progress and development of a culture which was neither broad nor humane, but which is not deepened by the very thing which comes of spirituality. We are not imitators, though, after all, Solomon was an imitator when he built his temple. And all through the history of Judaism you will learn that the Jew borrowed the means of reform and of culture. The power of Judaism always consisted in its assimilative powers, assimilative forces. We insisted that the stamp of Jewishness should be given all our works. Further, the writer speaks of the missionary character of the reform movement. The true reformer does not want to make propaganda for reform as such, but for Judaism. It was reform that deepened the Jewish consciousness, that gave it spirituality. Reform did not work against even the orthodox. Reform was erected against formalism and legalism. In conclusion, I would say a word in regard to this work of Synagogue Extension. It should be done in this way—do not interfere with the conscience of any. Do not make any attempt to win them for reform. But always treat each according to the stage of religious development which he has reached.

RABBI HECHT.—I am very glad of the opportunity that is accorded me at this time to express my personal admiration of and gratification at the excellent paper to which we have been privileged to listen. I wish to say that according to a good, old Jewish custom, if unfavorable criticism is to be passed it should be followed by praise. I would certainly take exception to the characterization of this paper as a harangue. There may be differences of opinion between the writer of the paper and the gentleman who made this statement, but it is an interesting paper.

RABBI SILVERMAN.—I heartily endorse the paper of Brother Zepin in part; and while I could take exception to a few of his phrases, I do not take exception to the paper as a whole, not even to that part in which he suggests that perhaps reform has made innovations too rapidly in times past, and that it would have been better if we had brought these innovations to the attention of the people a little more gently. My experience on the East Side of New York bears this out. The young men of my congregation organized the Emmanuel Brotherhood. We went down to the East Side and instituted a congregation two years ago. And we may refer to it as a case in substantiation of what has been said in the report. We went down, not to bring to these people orthodoxy, but to help them organize a congregation.

RABBI MOSES.—I have not enough words of praise to bestow on the work and paper of Brother Zepin. May there be many others like him in Israel and may there arise a large number of young workers like him. My eyes almost filled with tears when I heard him unfold the causes which led to the indifference of so many of our own reform co-religionists.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I do not want to consume the few minutes I have, in compliments, but I do want to say, that I cannot agree with this diagnosis of the causes of reform and the writer's explanation of these for the reform movement. I differ with him *in toto* as far as the principle is concerned, but agree with him in the matter of the work he has done. He has said that the Haskalah movement in Russia aroused the antagonism of the Jewish students in Russia, and

that they were opposed to it because the movement was assimilative. The real cause was anti-Semitism. Had there been no anti-Semitism there would not have been this reaction, which led to Zionism. Are we going to explain these great movements in this fashion? Anti-Semitism does not explain the Jewish religion. Therefore, I differ with Brother Zepin in his diagnosis of the reform movement.

RABBI RAPPAPORT.—I heartily agree with the paper in general, but there are a few points with which I cannot agree. When the writer says, that the first reformers used the same weapons against the orthodox as the Christians used against one another, I say that is not true. No historian can point out, in any way or manner, that the reformers persecuted the orthodox. I think the reformers were the persecuted. Moreover, he says that in the small country towns the reform Jews have all married with the Christians. Of these towns there is no official record on this subject, but it is a matter of official record that in the larger cities the orthodox Jews have intermarried with non-Jews more frequently than have the reform Jews. On the other hand, I most heartily agree with the speaker that these labels of orthodox and reform do not mean harmony in Judaism. I do not believe in these labels. Reform Judaism is Judaism itself. It is wrong for us to insist upon labels.

RABBI C. LEVI.—I am very glad of the opportunity of congratulating the Conference upon their being able to receive a paper of this kind. I am almost reminded of the legend of the smashing of the idols in the days of Abraham. Yesterday the philosophical idol was smashed, and to-day the reform idol was smashed. But the gathering together of the remnants will result in a reconstruction.

RABBI D. MARKS.—The great tragedy of this question is that the reform Jew does not understand the psychology of the orthodox Jew, which I say after ten years of experience in settlement work and the like. It is not that the Russian Jew hates Judaism. He hates the representatives of reform Judaism because they do not sympathize with him according to his light, and he does not understand their position according to their light. He has that consciousness which is Jewish, and he will not look upon God according to

our view. He will not accept our reform. He does not understand it. And he is not going to understand it theologically or philosophically.

RABBI HIRSCHBERG.—Aside from a few criticisms I wish to say, that I am in thorough accord with Rabbi Zepin's views as to the methods we reform Jews and Rabbis are taking in trying to win the unaffiliated to Judaism, particularly among the orthodox Jews. There is perhaps no man on this floor who is better qualified to speak on these methods than I. For nine years I worked in a semi-orthodox congregation. At the outset I went with hammer and tongs at my congregation to see what I could accomplish by way of reform. I soon found out that the one essential thing to do was to win the confidence of the members of that congregation if I was to do anything, to win them to a true conception of Judaism as I saw it. If I understand him rightly, the chief message that Rabbi Zepin has for us is, that we need to win the confidence of the orthodox of our faith, before we can gain from them any sympathetic view of our point.

RABBI CLIFTON H. LEVY.—The paper is a masterly one. The writer has gone below the surface and worked the matter out sympathetically.

RABBI S. MANNHEIMER.—We must go back to the principle upon which this circuit preaching movement was created. It was created by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. In the work of synagogue extension, it is essential that we do not speak to these unsynagogued people of reform Judaism. I only want to defend Rabbi Zepin against the attack of Brother Rappaport, as if he had said that mixed marriages were the consequence of reform Judaism. Because there are those who marry out of their faith, movements are not to be blamed. Let us study the case thoroughly before we condemn.

PRESIDENT.—Rabbi Zepin will close the discussion.

RABBI ZEPIN.—I want to explain why I handed in a report of this kind. I do not believe, that it is the end of my work merely to organize congregations. Probably in my work I get to see a broader

cross-section of Jewish life than the man who is in the same community the whole year round. You are here to solve these problems, and I come to you to try to explain things rather than to the Union. I have done this quite honestly, and I address myself to the first speaker in regard to his attitude towards a few statements I have made. I have done this to the best of my ability. They are my views, and I do not see why I should apologize for them, merely because I tell them to you. As for the statement that reform is opposed to Judaism, I do not know from what passage the speaker could have gotten that impression. I tried to translate for you the impression in the mind of orthodox men. He says "You come to teach me reform. You will try to teach me not to observe the Sabbath, not to eat kosher. I can do that without you." I simply tried to translate his words for you. If I represented that Zionism was opposed to the Haskalah movement, it does not necessarily follow that I believe that Zionism is the solution of all Jewish issues. I do not think by making a tirade against Zionism you explain the thing away. The modern Russian Jew is a Zionist, and is opposed to reform, and transfers this opposition also to the movement. I do not hold a brief for Zionism. I do not have to explain it.

According to action previously taken the Conference adjourned to attend in a body memorial service held at Chamber of Commerce, at which Rabbi Gries spoke as follows:

Yesterday, at this hour, I stood, in this hall, with the President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, now assembled in Cleveland, to bring in their behalf, and, symbolically, in behalf of the Jews of this nation and of the world, a modest tribute of respect to our honored dead. Here were tokens from King and Emperor, from Czar and Mikado—royal tributes of respect to a great American—royal wreaths bespeaking royal honor to a king among men. We brought the simple palm of peace—but no royal tribute was tribute of love and honor, more heartfelt and more sincere.

We love and honor him because he belonged not to the

"Slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak."

On behalf of peoples and races oppressed, on behalf of Jews persecuted in their own fatherland and in the land of their fathers, he sounded the strong note of justice—and the nations heard and heeded. He was the real peacemaker of the world; he was a prince of peace.

“Life may be given in many ways
And loyalty to truth be sealed
As bravely in the closet as the field,
So bountiful is Fate.”

“A prince, a great man hath fallen in Israel.”

As Rabbi, and for the moment, representative of the Jews of this land, I honor and love the name of John Hay—as Americans, all of us should honor and love the name and life of John Hay. His name, in history, will be forever associated with the names of our martyred Presidents, Abraham Lincoln and William McKinley. He was the friend and counsellor of Presidents, a true friend and a wise counsellor. Noble was his conception of America—a land consecrated to freedom, dedicated to justice; America, her beautiful flag to be unsullied by oppression—her flag to be honored among the great nations of the world, to be respected by the strongest and loved by the weakest.

In the hour of the nation's sorrow, may the nation find heart and wisdom to thank God for his noble life. He was clean of hand and pure of heart; he belonged to the upright and to the pure among men. True of him are the words which Lowell wrote of Lincoln:

“Wise, steadfast in the strength of God and true.” Let us thank God, that, in this hour, we are able to praise without reserve and without qualification, the spotless purity of his public life.

“Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,
In action faithful and in honor clear;
Who broke no promise, and served no private end,
Who gained no title and who lost no friend:
Ennobled by himself, by all approved
And praised, unenvied by the most he loved.”

The lives of the sons of the nation, pure and great, exalt and ennoble the whole nation. John Hay was a patriot—a true patriot,

a true type of America's noblest and best. What words, more fitting to be spoken, than those immortal words, spoken on the field of Gettysburg by Abraham Lincoln, whom he loved and served so well! "It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 6, 1905.

Session opened with prayer by Rabbi Alexander.

Auditing Committee on the Treasurer's report presented its report.

July 4, 1905.

To the President and Members of the C. C. A. R.:

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee to whom was assigned the Treasurer's report have examined the report submitted, with vouchers, certificates of deposit, etc., and find the statements accurate in every detail. We cannot praise too highly the work of your efficient and conscientious Treasurer, and trust that we may have his valuable services for years to come. We heartily congratulate the Conference on its financial prosperity, although we find that this prosperity is not commensurate with the income of the Conference. In examining the report we find further that there has been an injudicious expenditure for small, tentative and at times unimportant publications, and we urgently recommend that all appropriations for publications be left entirely to the Executive Committee. Further, that all resolutions involving expenditures for publication likewise be referred to the above Committee. It seems to your Committee to be of the utmost importance that we devise some method of doing away with the necessity of constant dunning by our Treasurer in the matter of the collection of dues. There should be no censure for those who are not able to pay, but we do think it advisable to carry into effect the law of suspension in the case of members able to meet their obligations. A few examples made would be a speedy and certain remedy.

Respectfully submitted,

ISAAC S. MOSES, *Chairman.*

ISAAC L. RYPINS,

SOL. L. KORY.

It was moved and seconded, that the last part of the report, referring to the suspension of members, be stricken out, and this matter be left to the Executive Committee.

RABBI GUTTMACHER.—I do not see the necessity of striking out the last part of this report. It is true that it is quite within the province of the Executive Committee to suspend members. This matter will come before the Executive Committee, and I feel that something ought be done to call the attention of the Executive Committee to this matter.

Motion was lost.

Motion made and carried that the report be received and adopted as presented.

Report of Auditing Committee on Publication Committee's report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

To the President and Members of the C. C. A. R.:

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee, appointed to audit the accounts of the Publication Committee and to consider the recommendations contained therein, begs leave to state that it has carefully examined the said report and desires to express its hearty approval of the efficient management of this department of the Conference activities.

We have examined the certified statement submitted by Hertle, Cook, Brenner, and Haag—certified public accountants and auditors of New York—and find that it practically corresponds with the statements in the report.

Concerning the recommendations which are appended to the report, we desire to state that we heartily concur with Nos. 1, 2, and 3, viz.:

1. The renewal of the contract with the Bloch Publishing Company (for another year, on similar terms), terms of years left to the Executive Committee.

2. A new edition of 3000 copies of the Union Hymnal.

3. The authority to bind unbound copies of the Union Prayer Book, as needed, and we recommend that the Executive Committee authorize the Publication Committee to carry all of these plans into execution.

Concerning recommendation 4, we would suggest two plans, one dealing with the distribution of the Year Books, and the other dealing with the distribution of Sermons and Reprints.

In view of the fact that we have on hand a great many copies of the Year Books that have been issued, and that there is only a limited sale for these, we would suggest that a set of all the volumes now in stock be presented to each new member of the Conference, and to any of the older members who make application therefor. We would further suggest that, to the mailing

list of the Secretary there be added the names of all American theological institutions—also the names of all the Temple libraries and the principal public libraries—and that a complete set of our Year Books be sent to them. We would also suggest that the Secretary address a letter to all members of the Conference, requesting them to send him the names of all such prominent laymen as would care to receive our publications.

Concerning the distribution of sermons and reprints, we desire to recommend that whatever of this literature is in the possession of the Conference be put at the disposal of the board of managers of Synagogue and School Extension, who have entered upon the active work of distributing sermonic and Sabbath School literature.

We further recommend that the Executive Committee be instructed to appoint a committee of five on sermonic literature, whose business it shall be to edit, during the next year, a series of forty or fifty sermons—in pamphlet form—for the use of congregations without ministers.

5. Concerning recommendation 5, we would suggest that the remaining twenty-two copies of Ehrlich's Psalms, now in the possession of the Conference, be equally distributed to the two seminaries, the Hebrew Union College and the New York Theological Seminary—for distribution among the students.

6. Concerning recommendation 6, your Committee desires to state its hearty approval of the policy hitherto pursued by the Executive Committee in distributing Prayer and Hymn Books gratuitously to penal institutions and to People's Synagogues, during such time as these People's Synagogues are in their experimental stage, and we further recommend that a standing committee of three be appointed, from among the members of the Executive Committee, to pass upon all applications for free prayer books or hymnals.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE ZEPIN,
DAVID ALEXANDER,
ISADOR A. PHILO,
EUGENE MANNHEIMER,
JOS. H. STOLZ.

Moved and carried that the report be taken up seriatim.

Recommendation I.

RABBI MOSES.—The Bloch Publishing Company asked me before I left New York to request you to extend the contract which we make with them for more than one year. They are about to move into larger quarters, and they will need more room for the keeping of our publications. There is a possibility that at some time or other we

may not renew the contract with them. So for their protection, I would suggest that the contract made with them be for a term longer than one year.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—I would offer this amendment: That we enter into a contract with the Bloch Publishing Company, and that the length of time of same shall be left to the Executive Committee. (Carried.)

Recommendation V was, upon motion of Rabbi Gries, referred to the Executive Committee with authority to *act* upon it.

Upon motion, the report was adopted as a whole.

Report of Committee on Sectarianism was presented by Rabbi D. Lefkowitz.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SECTARIANISM.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

Your Committee appointed to collect and create literature that points out the illegality and danger of sectarianism in our public schools and in other public institutions, begs leave to report as follows:

A year ago it was considered advisable that something be done to counteract the sectarian influences at work in our public institutions. Since that time certain events have occurred that make a decided stand in this matter peremptory. What had previously appeared as programmes and pronouncements of Bible Study Leagues and Religious Education Associations has since flowered forth into action. In many cities vigorous onslaughts have been made upon the non-sectarian character of American institutions. Washington, D. C., has just emerged successfully from the struggle against sectarianism in the schools. New Orleans is in the midst of the fight. Smaller cities in various parts of the country are either opposing the reading of the Bible in the schools or quietly acquiescing. Everyone can see the aggressive earnestness of the sectarians.

For once the Jew must turn a deaf ear to the confirmed optimist in his ranks who is ever crying out that all will be right in the end; for once he must put himself in a state of preparedness; for once, instead of waiting for untoward consequences, he must endeavor to direct public opinion. Instead of patiently waiting for the stroke, he must rationalize the striker.

And he will not find himself alone, a voice crying in the wilderness. The

contest at the National Capital showed that the movement for the introduction of sectarianism of any sort in our schools is opposed by the Seventh Day Adventists, the Baptists, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Secular League is naturally arrayed against it. The president of the American Unitarian Association, Rev. Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, of Boston, wrote to your Committee but the other day that, "our churches, individually and collectively, can always be depended upon to co-operate with any organizations interested in this cause." He further states that Dr. Crooker's book, "Religious Freedom in American Education," which is a vigorous and complete argument against sectarianism in the schools, "is really the report of a committee of our Association on the subject of non-sectarian education, and it represents our habit of mind and principle of conduct."

But we must remember that while members of other creeds may object to any violation of the non-sectarian character of our institution, they can hardly be expected to be immediately aroused into protest by such a violation, because *their* religious teachings are not thereby endangered. Though resting upon his American rights, the Constitutional guarantees, it will be the Jew that will have to initiate any opposing movement. There are summary ways to do this: appeals to the courts, test cases such as the Wisconsin and the Nebraska suits. But because all States are not as Wisconsin and Nebraska, because the State Constitutions are not all as explicit as those of the States once included in Northwestern Territory, and because defeat in such matters is so baneful that the risk of it had rather not be incurred, it is best that we concentrate our efforts upon the education of public opinion on this very important subject. The Committee presents an initial pamphlet it has compiled, and suggests that such pamphlets be printed from time to time and scattered abroad where they will do most good. The Committee's pamphlet consists of a loose leaf suggesting what action should be taken when the attempt is made to introduce sectarianism in the schools, and giving a typical form of protest. This is intended for distribution amongst leaders in communities. The pamphlet proper consists of four parts: 1st. The general argument against sectarianism in the public schools. 2d. Legal Status. 3d. Extracts from the writings and speeches of prominent people on the subject, and 4th. A bibliography. This pamphlet, it is suggested, should be sent in sufficient numbers to any city threatened with the introduction of sectarianism in public institutions and should be distributed by a local Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID LEFKOWITZ, *Chairman*,
ABRAM SIMON,
HARRY LEVI,
NATHAN KRASNOWETZ,
SAMUEL KOCH.

TO THE COMMUNAL LEADER.

A right which is not worth fighting for cannot be worth much, and he who is not disposed to fight for his rights does not deserve to enjoy them. One such right, woven into the fabric of our body politic, is equality before the law. This entails, as a logical consequence, absence of discrimination between sects and creeds in all matters of public policy.

Now this pre-eminent right of religious freedom has been trampled upon time and again and has called forth vigorous protest. But only of late has it been evident that a concerted effort to disregard this right is being made in the attempt to introduce Bible readings in the public schools. At certain religious conferences there is almost unanimous agreement upon this course. National Bible Associations have made this move part of their avowed program. As Americans, then, who wish jealously to conserve all that the founders of our Republic have in their wisdom set down for the welfare of this country, and to prerequisite for success of this renewed attempt at republican government, as Americans, it is our duty, if we at all deserve to enjoy the right of religious liberty, to demand that this menace to one of the fundamental institutions of our commonwealth be laid low.

Much specious argumentation has made the project of the Bible in the public school seem not only harmless to our republican institutions but also necessary for the right training of the future American citizen. One side of the shield has been shown with much plausibility. It is the duty of those who see the menace to show the reverse side.

Usually the Bible readings are introduced into the public schools under the warrant of a half-hearted rule in the Manual of the Board of Education, stating that the opening exercises of the schools shall consist of song (sometimes *hymn* is the word), prayer, *or* reading of the Scripture. This gives the choice to teacher or principal as to whether the Bible shall or shall not be read. In some cases the Board of Education under the spur of some bigoted member is more aggressive, and the italicized *or* is changed to *and*; then the reading of the Bible receives the express sanction, nay, is commanded by the Board. This encroachment upon the right of religious liberty must arouse the protest of every true hearted American.

But the mode of procedure in the placing of such a protest should be first considered. There is no doubt that any airing of a problem that announces religious differences revives religious prejudices. It breaks the unity of common citizenship into opposing factional creeds and sects. There is always an unreasoning multitude which insist upon seeing in this demand upon the inherent rights of man an onslaught upon the foundations of Christianity. For this reason, it is well to lodge such protest quietly before the local Board of Education, presumably composed of broad-minded, cultured, and thinking men, and only if they appear obdurate to create favorable public sentiment.

Rather as a suggestion and hint, not in presumption as a model, is the following protest presented. It was spoken before a Board of Education in an Ohio city and therefore has one touch of local color, viz., the reference to the Bill of Rights of the Northwestern Territory and the State Constitution. Substitutes for these references can be no doubt easily found in cases where these do not apply.

"Gentlemen of the Board of Education: You amended Section — of the rules of the Board of Education to read, 'The schools shall be opened in the morning with reading of the sacred Scriptures without comment, repeating the Lord's prayer, and by singing.' I feel it my duty, responsible as I am for the welfare of the children attending the schools of this city, to protest against this amendment and to ask your reconsideration of the entire matter. I am sure that this Board is broad-minded enough to view this matter from all sides, and that this action was taken only because all light had not been thrown upon the subject. And I feel sure that with the added light you will not allow pride or prejudice to restrain you from correcting what I feel, and I hope you will see, was a mistake.

"First, let me quote to you Section 7 of Ohio's Bill of Rights:

"'All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience. No person shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or maintain any form of worship against his consent; and no preference shall be given by law to any religious society; nor shall any interference with the rights of conscience be permitted. No religious test shall be required as a qualification for office, nor shall any person be incompetent to be a witness on account of his religious belief; but nothing herein shall be construed to dispense with oaths or affirmations. Religion, morality, and knowledge, however, being essential to good government, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to pass suitable laws to protect every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of worship, and to encourage schools and means of instruction.'

"And, further, I ask your attention to the closing clause of Section 2, Article 6 of the Constitution, 'But no religious or other sect or sects shall have any exclusive right to, or control of, any part of the school funds of this State.'

"This is the law under which the public schools of this State are administered. The first question is, what is the character of this morning school exercise? It is an act of religious worship, I submit; it is an act of sectarian worship, an act of Protestant religious worship.

"In 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' we have a description of a Protestant service consisting of just three items, reading from the Bible, singing of hymns, and a reverent prayer. It is sectarian, peculiarly Protestant, because what version will be used? Surely the King James, which is recognized only by Protestants. This will offend the religious convictions of Universalists, Unitarians, Catholics, and Jews. The Catholics recognize only the Douay.

version of the Bible which has in addition to the parts of King James' version the Apocrypha. The Jews recognize the Old Testament as authoritative. You see that the service will be Protestant and thus the Bill of Rights is violated in that persons are 'compelled to attend, erect, and support a place of worship,' and 'maintain a form of worship against their consent,' that 'preference is given by law' to a 'certain religious society' and 'interference with the rights of conscience' is thus permitted.

"In the amendment passed by your Board you introduce the words 'without comment.' Does that mean much? The King James' version of the Bible is a translation, and translation is interpretation. Your Baptist friends will tell you that in the sentence, 'Ye that believe and are baptized shall be saved,' the Greek word of which 'baptized' is the translation, should read 'immersed.' Furthermore, the headings of the chapters are comments. Many of the comments on the Psalms, for instance, offend the Jewish religious convictions. Furthermore, the choice of readings from this broad literature is a quiet comment. The various denominational doctrines will receive their separate emphasis by the various teachers, as each teacher will no doubt read the part most familiar to him, the part by which his denomination justifies itself. And, perhaps, you have not thought that the non-believing teacher, the atheist, will read those passages telling of a revengeful God, the passages which Ingersoll wrung from the context and thus held religion up to scorn. Such reading 'without comment' is a greater danger than no reading at all.

"These are details, gentlemen, which it were well to ponder; details which you should know. But I gladly rise from them and ask you to view the matter from a higher ground. It is the glory of this Republic that here all men are equal before the law; that it is a government of laws, not of men; that each man has indefeasible rights; that each sect and each religion is equally recognized by the law; that here the hateful word 'toleration' finds no place. Here Church and State stand divorced. The Bill of Rights recognizes the value of religion, therefore it protects every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of public worship. This amendment, gentlemen, tramples upon the rights of hundreds of taxpayers of this city. It takes no note of their tender religious conscience—because, forsooth, they believe not as the majority.

"And lastly, I desire to inform you, members of the Board, that in 1870 the Supreme Court of this State upheld the Board of Education of Cincinnati in its action abolishing Bible readings and the singing of appropriate hymns at the opening exercises of the schools. And I wish to state that the man who as counsel fought strenuously for this abolition, both before a court of three judges in Cincinnati and later before the Supreme Court of Ohio, was Stanley Matthews, afterward attorney general, and one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, who in solemn language more than once in the course of his debates, described himself as a firm believer in the divine inspiration of the Bible and as a most orthodox Presbyterian. In

Edgerton, Wis., the same action which you have performed in the adoption of the amendment to Section 93, was cited before the Supreme Court of Wisconsin and a peremptory writ was ordered as prayed in the petition. This is one of the court's statements in giving the decision: 'The reading of any version of the Holy Bible in the common schools as a text book without restriction, although not accompanied by any comment of the instructor, is sectarian instruction, and is thereby prohibited; nor is the prohibition removed by the fact that any child may withdraw from such school room during such reading.' The Supreme Court of the State of Nebraska has recently (October 9, 1902), rendered a decision on this subject in harmony with the Wisconsin decision. A growing conviction that these decisions represent the truly American spirit is seen in many judicial utterances and pulpit preachings. When once parents are shown that their children cannot have the slipshod, useless, and often dangerous, and I contend, humbly, illegal religious instruction in the public school, they will awake to the needs of such instruction in the right place, in the home, the church and Sunday school.

"Gentlemen, I thank you for your kind attention to these, as I feel, inadequate statements, I ask your reconsideration of this question with all the deliberation that the importance of the subject demands. I feel it my duty to protest, not merely as a Jewish rabbi, responsible for the spiritual welfare of many Jewish children, but as an American citizen, who is ready to concede a greater patriotism for this, his adopted country, to none, who so loves the noble institutions and principles established by the revolutionary fathers that he cannot stand silent while one of them is about to be tarnished."

WHY THE BIBLE SHOULD NOT BE READ IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

1. When our National Constitution was written and adopted, it is plain that care was taken to fashion principles, which, aside from other results, should forever prevent in this country, a connection between Church and State. Now the public school, established unquestionably for secular purposes, is therefore a State institution, while Bible reading is distinctly a religious exercise. To make the one the scene of the other, and in this way to institute a relation, to which the fathers of the country objected, is clearly to rebel against the spirit of the constitution.

2. Though granted rights with which the National Government cannot interfere, the various States have drawn up individual constitutions, which, while they supplement the provisions of the national document, oppose them neither in spirit nor letter. Logically, then, the attitude of the country, on this important question, is that of its component parts. To read the Bible in the public schools is therefore to assume a privilege it was clearly the intention of the State constitutions to deny.

3. There was a time when everywhere Church and State were one. For a

century and a half the leaven has been at work bringing about a separation between the two. In this time the cause has gained great headway. To-day the signs of the times point unmistakably to its ultimate victory. Here and there the connection still exists, but few generations will pass before it has been altogether and forever broken. To insist upon the retention of Bible readings in our public schools, or to introduce them at this late day, is to turn back the hands of time, to try to resurrect a dead past, and to struggle vainly against manifest destiny.

4. It is interesting to observe that the rapid progress life has made in every way during the past one hundred years has been synchronous with the growing separation between Church and State. It is not an accidental coincidence. For the finest and largest development has taken place in those countries where politics and religion have been sundered. Where a State Church still exists, though granting every religious privilege to those not its communicants, the progress, though commendable, has not been as great. The countries which have developed least, and which to-day in so many ways are behind the times, are those where the connection between Church and State is so intimate that the non-members of the State Church are considered aliens, and are politically discriminated against. History is here merely emphasizing the lesson it began to teach centuries ago. So long as State and Church were one, the growth of both was slow. The conditions springing from the connection were such as to make rapid growth impossible. It was only when the connection was done away with that men began to discover themselves, and the fine level we occupy to-day is the expression and the result of that discovery. Plainly our duty therefore lies in maintaining that separation between Church and State which has been the parent of our progress, and to prevent the introduction of any feature threatening to bring our development to a halt. The watchword of the hour is not backward but forward.

5. Our public schools belong not to religion but to the State. That is, they are an expression, not of denominational but of State interest. They were founded not by the members of any one faith to care for their own children, but by the people as a whole, to give all the children an education that would make good citizens of them. To these schools go children whose parents have all shades of religious opinion. These schools are supported by taxes paid by every member of the community, whatever his beliefs, even though he has no religious beliefs, and without any regard as to whether or no he has children of school age to take advantage of the educational opportunities thus provided. In one word, they are public and not private schools, and therefore they must be conducted in such a way that all those interested shall have equal privileges, and that the rights of all shall have equal recognition. Private schools are owned and conducted by private individuals, and therefore the public at large has no right to interfere with or in any way dictate their internal administration. The curriculum may be liberal or illiberal, denominational or undenominational, the rules may be severe or lenient; if the

children go, they must obey, and their parents must be content to have them obey. There may be religious exercises; there may be religious instructions. There is no reason for complaint. The institutions are private, and their owners have the right to conduct them as they please. But with the public schools the case is altogether different. These institutions are built by the people, owned by them, supported by them, and attended by their children. In one word, they are the public's schools, and must therefore be conducted, not necessarily in accord with its pleasure, but certainly in accord with its rights. Now reading the Bible in the schools may please the majority, but it wrongs the minority. It gives some children what they want, and forces on other children what they do not want. In plain language, it discriminates.

6. For no matter what version of the Bible will be used, it will always be representative not of universal but of particular beliefs, and therefore while acceptable to a part of the people will never prove acceptable to all. The version used, for example, wherever Bible readings are in vogue in our public schools, is the King James, or its improved form, the Revised version, so-called. But that version, the accepted translation of Protestants, is objected to by the Catholics, who use only the Douay version. The difference in translation and content between these two versions reflects some of the essential differences in belief between the faiths that use them. But neither version is altogether acceptable to the Jew. The chapter headings are especially obnoxious to the Jew. To him the Leeser translation, with all its imperfections, appeals more, because it is done from a Jewish point of view and contains only the Old Testament. While the man who belongs to no denomination at all objects to all three versions, on the ground that they give his views no consideration. The various versions of the Bible reflect the distinctive belief of the denominations which abide by them. Therefore whichever one is used, some children will always be discriminated against, and therefore some will always be wronged.

7. Furthermore, practically all the teachers employed in our schools are themselves members of some particular form of faith. Some teachers may be atheists, but they are the exceptions. Now people who belong to a certain denomination cannot possibly avoid being prepossessed in favor of that denomination, and therefore of the peculiar interpretations it places upon various passages of the Bible. Now the better the teacher the more he puts himself into the lessons he gives to the children, wherefore, granted the privilege of selecting the Biblical portions he reads to his class, he naturally chooses those chapters most familiar to him, or those which appeal most to him, and almost unconsciously reads into them the meaning taught by his own church. For which he is not to be blamed. Only while he is thus spreading the teachings of his own faith, the children whose parents do not believe with him are being weaned from the faith of their fathers.

8. It may sound like a broad and strange statement but it can easily be

proven true, that while anyone can read the Bible, it requires a special equipment to teach it. Hardly one out of a thousand of our public school teachers possesses this equipment. When we examine them, we exact certain conditions of them. They must reach a definite standard in various lines. But we exact nothing of them along religious lines. A course which is eminently sensible. But though we do not care what they know of religion, or what they believe, we permit them to read and talk about religion and belief to our children, and the result is just what might be expected. In religion, as in secular lines, teachers are born not made, but whether born or made, their diploma is granted for an average of seventy in grammar, arithmetic, and history.

9. And suppose, as is sometimes the case, the teacher is a Catholic or a Jew. As stated above, the King James' version of the Bible is a Protestant translation. Shall this Catholic or Jewish teacher use this version in the class? When he comes to interpretations with which he does not agree, shall he introduce changes into the text to make it fit his beliefs? Will he risk the displeasure of the authorities by reading passages which speak for his religious attitude, or will he lose some of his self-respect by reading selections, to which most of the children are accustomed, but the burden of which belies his own convictions? Has a public school system the right thus to embarrass its teachers?

10. And since there is no religious qualification for teaching in the public schools, suppose that an atheist is given charge of a class. Like the other teachers, his is the privilege of selecting the chapters to be read from the Bible, and insinuating into them any interpretation he pleases. Now "the Devil can cite Scripture for his purpose," but so can the atheist. Can he not therefore, if he so wish, poison the minds of the children with his irreligious ideas?

11. Reading the Bible in the public schools leads to the introduction of other religious exercises altogether sectarian in character. In a great many schools it is responsible for the recitation of distinctively denominational prayers, and the singing of peculiarly denominational hymns. In many places it has led to the celebration by the pupils of denominational holidays. It has been seized in many schools as an excuse for decorating the rooms with pictures illustrating lessons of the Sabbath School of a particular church. In one school in Nebraska, the teacher used the Bible reading period to instruct the children in preparation for baptism, while in another instance, later brought into court, a teacher frankly confessed that because she was allowed to read selections from the Bible to the children, she took it for granted that she was permitted to teach them all the fundamental Christian doctrines in which she herself believed. In a certain high school, the principal invited various ministers to read the Biblical selections, and later asked these ministers to supplement the reading with prayer or with addresses. In one instance the guest took advantage of the situation to deliver an evangelistic talk that created the

bitterest of ill feeling. There used to be a popular proverb, "Give him a finger and he will take the whole hand." It is a question of use becoming abuse. Allow the Bible to be read in our schools, and you open the flood-gates to the introduction of a thousand and one other religious features that are bound to affect their efficiency.

12. The parochial school of the Catholic Church was really the product of reading the Bible in our public schools. To the same cause may be attributed in part the success of many of the private schools of the country. Catholic parents object to sending their children to institutions where they are brought under the influence of religious ideas with which they are not in accord, and therefore are in the position of being compelled to support separate schools of their own. And many non-Catholic parents, who insist on having their children in schools where the curriculum is purely secular gladly assume the added expense entailed in sending their children to private schools, which they know to be non-sectarian. In this way millions of children, who have a right in our public schools, and who ought to be there, are kept out.

13. This situation, in a large and real sense, retards the development of our democracy. The strength of our country lies in its wonderful power of assimilation. Were it not for this, the hordes of immigrants coming every year to our shores from foreign lands would make national growth and greatness impossible. We are a great nation, not merely because various elements have entered into our national composition, but because we have managed so well to fuse all these elements. And nothing has contributed so largely to this fine result as our public school system. Gathering in the children of all classes and races, many themselves born abroad, many whose parents were born abroad, it places them all on the same level, teaches them all the same lessons in the same way, and so levels their differences, makes them realize their equality under the flag, and prepares them to become good Americans. In doing this the public school is realizing its proper function. But the moment it introduces the slightest feature, resulting in the exclusion of any of the children having a right to its consideration, it interferes with the rapid development of citizenship, and so hurts the country, while it limits its own influence, and falls short of the complete fulfillment of its mission.

14. The place of the Bible is in the home, the church, and the church school. To force it into the public educational institutions is not merely to suggest that these three agencies are powerless to effect the desired results, but it is likewise sure to interfere with the growth of a finer and larger human brotherhood. Outside the schools the whole question of Bible reading has strained the relations between the parents, while inside it has divided the children into religious classes, and arrayed them against each other. It has created ill-feeling between Catholic and Protestant, and has caused both to look down upon the Jew. By practically excluding many children from the schools, it has prevented that close contact which, bringing about acquaintance and developing knowledge, is the best known medium for the cure of prejudice. Many

a child has learned to persecute, and many another has suffered from that persecution, because of the reading of certain Bible chapters. If the school has one duty more important than another, it is not to widen, but to heal, this breach between its pupils, to bind up the wounds, not to tear them open, and to make the citizens of to-morrow not enemies but friends.

15. Bible reading in any of our schools is seldom given more than a few minutes during opening exercises. The reading is usually hurried and mechanical. Such a procedure can certainly not hope to help the cause of religious culture. If the purpose of Bible reading in the schools is to provide the children with religious instruction, and gather them under religious influence, as I have heard it frequently expressed, then the method at present pursued is the poorest means to that end. Instead of making children reverent toward religion, it makes them indifferent, when not positively hostile. The spirit of their devotions is lost and the warmth dissipated. No public school will dare to introduce a regular course of religious instruction, and the opening exercises as at present conducted are barren of good results.

16. We properly tax every citizen of the country for the support of our public schools. But we have no right to tax men for the erection and maintenance of institutions for the public good, of which, due to the rules we enforce, they are unable to make any use. We are justified in every way in compelling Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and atheists alike to contribute to the school fund. But we must then conduct these schools so that no father finds an obstacle in the way of his sending his children to them. If we create the obstacle, we are not only legally, we are morally wrong in exacting the tax. Bible reading in our public schools prevents many parents from allowing their children to attend these schools. Either then we must cease taxing these men or we must remove the Bible reading from the schools. But to do the former is to confess at once that our schools are not public but denominational, or at least sectarian institutions. The conclusion is plain.

17. By virtue of the custom of Bible reading, our schools take on a religious complexion. In many States there exists a compulsory school law. The conjunction of these two facts puts us in the peculiar position of forcing our children into attendance on what is, to all intents and purposes, a religious service. The difficulty is not avoided by claiming that in many schools the children are not compelled to participate in the opening exercises, that they may refrain from taking part, if they desire. But the teacher is master of the room, and even his unexpressed wish is law. And, further, no child likes to exclude itself from the activities of the class, and then be pointed out as being different from the rest. What child, though privileged to do so, will close its eyes and ears in the school room, and if it does not, how can it avoid being influenced by what is going on about it? The situation is tantamount to actual compulsion. Is it consistent with our American traditions, or for that matter, with our present American guarantees?

18. Members of all faith contribute to the common school fund. Bible reading in the public schools creates conditions which place the control of that fund in the hands of the members of but one faith. Is this fair?

19. Finally, to insist upon Bible reading in our public schools is to determine right by might, and justice by numbers. It is to refuse the minority any right, and attempt to crush its conscience by the will of the majority. "The rights of man," said Isaac Taylor, "must be understood in a sense that can admit of no single exception; for to allege an exception is the same thing as to deny the principle, . . . and it is to utter a treason against humanity. The same is true, and it is true with an emphasis, in relation to those rights which are at once the surest guarantee of every other, and the most precious of all, namely, the rights of conscience." Bible reading is a concern of faith, and faith is a question of conscience, and no public institution, and no public official, has a particle of right to touch upon those matters which, because they are of religion, belong to the realm of conscience. To deny the soul-right of a single individual is to deny the whole principle of human rights, "The voice of the people" may often be "the voice of God," but in the sight of God numbers do not count. The child has certain rights which the man dare not deny, and the minority has certain rights upon which the majority dare not trample. Bible reading in the public schools, presumably introduced to develop conscience, fails of its purpose by its refusal to consider the "remnant." Denying the right of the few, it stunts the finer growths of the many. By trying to shackle the soul of the man, it dwarfs the soul of the people.

The time seems near when a course in ethics, directed by capable and efficient instructors, will be introduced into our public schools, looking to the development of the ethical and moral sense of our children. But Bible reading, for all the reasons discussed, must not form part of such a course. Not that it is helpless in the face of the desired end, but that, in contributing to the attainment of that end in our public schools, it will do more harm than good. Use every just means to help the growth of the conscience of the child. But keep the Bible out of the public schools.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE BIBLE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The very vital and delicate question as to whether the Bible should or should not be read in the public schools of this country is primarily a legal issue. Moreover, the legality or illegality of such reading is a purely local affair. It must ultimately be settled in the courts of last resort in the respective States where the adjudication of each test case occurs. The Federal Government can not interfere in any way with the ruling of the different Supreme Courts of the States in the Union. So much "States' rights" is conceded to each State to determine the meaning and constitutionality of its own laws.

There is no uniform statute regulating the reading of the Bible in the public

schools. In fact, there is no explicit law in any of the State constitutions or State statutes except one dealing directly with this question. Hence the question must finally be submitted to the Court of Appeals in that State where it is raised, and left to the Supreme Court for decision. The decision is, in nearly all cases, based on the interpretation of a clause in the State constitution or statutes, which, while not stating anything specifically about the use of the Bible in the public schools, contains some provision relating to sectarian instruction.

For more than fifty years the "Bible in the public schools" has been an issue before the courts of last resort in various States of the Union. In all cases the verdict pro or con was based on the interpretation of the meaning of that clause in the State constitution or statutes which dealt with the regulations pertaining to instruction in the public schools. In most States there is provision made either in the State constitution or in the statutes concerning sectarian instruction in the public schools. While the wording is not uniform, the meaning is virtually the same. The statute from the commonwealth of Kentucky pertinent to the instruction given in the public schools of the State and bearing directly on the use of sectarian books or religious service may be taken as a sample of constitutional clauses or statutes of the different States in the Union relative to the question at issue. In the "bill of rights" of the commonwealth of Kentucky we read as follows: Section 5, "No preference shall be given by law to any religious sect." Section 189, "No portion of any fund or tax now existing shall be appropriated to or used by, or in aid of any church, sectarian, or denominational school." Section 4368 of the statutes, "No books or other publications of a sectarian, infidel, or immoral character shall be used or distributed in any common school; nor shall any sectarian, infidel, or immoral doctrine be taught therein."

In all the courts of last resort where the legality or constitutionality of the reading of the Bible in the public schools was argued, the verdict hinged on the interpretation of the word "Sectarian." Wherever the court held that the Bible was a sectarian book, it ruled that under the provisions of the State constitution it was not permissible to use the Scriptures for reading purposes in the common schools, reading being a very patent and effective form of instruction.

The following verdicts have been rendered by various Supreme Courts in several of the States of the Union. The first case was argued in the State of Maine, in 1854. A minor brought suit through her father to recover damages from the school authorities for expelling her from said school for refusing to read from a certain version of the Bible. The court decided that in expelling the Donahoe child, the superintending school committee was not violating the State constitution, which read: "No one shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, nor for his religious professions or sentiments, provided that he does not disturb

the public peace nor obstruct others in their religious worship." In Maine at this time the right to prescribe general course of instruction and to direct what books shall be used was reposed by the Legislature in a School Committee and no power of revision was conferred on any other tribunal, and the Supreme Court held that the School Committee had the right to make ill-advised and injudicious selection.

In 1870, the School Board in Cincinnati abolished Bible reading and hymn singing from the common schools. Here, as in Maine, the school authorities had absolute power to select and reject whatever books they pleased, for and from the public schools. The Supreme Court upheld the School Board in its action.

The constitution of Iowa makes it mandatory to read the Bible in the public schools of that State. In 1884, the constitutionality of that provision was disputed. The Court of Appeals held that the statute making the reading of the Bible in the public schools compulsory was not unconstitutional and that it in no way violated the articles of religious liberty.

In Michigan objections were made to the reading of the Bible in the common schools. The Bible was not read from any particular edition. A text book called "Bible Readings" was introduced into the public schools on the plea that the King James' version of the Scriptures is classical English and hence might serve as a reader just as well as any other compilation and from it the pupils were supposed to get morals as well as literature. In 1898, the Supreme Court of Michigan held that the reading of these extracts was not a violation of the constitution.

The following statement was made in a decision against the reading of the Bible in the public schools of Wisconsin. When the case came before the Supreme Court of that State, as to whether the introduction of the Bible as a text book in the public schools was constitutional, the court emphatically declared that: "The reading of any version of the Holy Bible in the common schools as a text book without restriction, although unaccompanied by any comment of the instructor, is sectarian instruction, and is thereby prohibited. Nor is the prohibition removed by the fact that any child may withdraw from such school room during such reading." In striking contrast to this decision, which was similar to the official opinion rendered by Attorney-General Webb of California, who winds up his able statement with the effective words, "Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye unto them," the Court of Appeals in the State of Kentucky handed down its decision on May 31, 1905, to the effect that, "Neither the King James' version nor any version of the Bible is sectarian. That the adoption of any particular edition by one or more denominations as authentic, or by them asserted to be inspired, cannot make it a sectarian book." Hence, in the public schools of Kentucky the Bible may be read and taught from, the school may be opened with prayer, but those who can not conscientiously join in the prayer, or to whom the reading of certain portions of the Bible is offensive, are not required to be present when the exercises complained of are going on.

In October, 1902, the Supreme Court of the State of Nebraska rendered this decision: "Exercises by a teacher in a public school building in school hours and in the presence of pupils, consisting of the reading of passages from the Bible, and in the singing of hymns and offering prayer to the Deity, in accordance with the doctrines, beliefs, customs, and usages of sectarian churches or religious organizations, are forbidden by the constitution of this State." In January, 1903, there was a rehearing of this case. The previous decision was confirmed, but it was explicitly stated that the Bible was not to be excluded from the public schools except when it was used as a sectarian book. Whenever the practice of Bible reading took the form of sectarian instruction it had to be prohibited and the courts must determine upon specific evidence whether or not the law was violated.

What is the legal status of the Bible in the public schools? From all the foregoing citations it is evident that the use of the Bible for the purpose of religious instruction has almost uniformly been declared either unconstitutional or illegal. It is also apparent that the constitution and statutes of the majority of our States—Iowa is an exception—are not sufficiently explicit in their references to sectarian instruction in the public schools. Theoretically the people of the United States of America proclaim their belief in the absolute separation of Church and State. Yet it is extremely false to imagine that the civil power and religion are wholly disassociated. M. Goblet d'Alviella, in "Evolution religieuse," p. 233, thus justly corrects our enthusiastic assertions that in the United States the church is absolutely severed from the State. "Public institutions are still deeply impregnated with Christianity. Congress, the State Legislatures, the navy, the army, the prisons, are all supplied with chaplains; the Bible is still read in a large number of schools. The invocation of God is generally obligatory in an oath in a court of law, and even in an oath of office. In certain States more or less stringent Sunday laws are enforced. In 1880 a traveller was refused damages for injuries received in a railway accident on the ground that he was travelling on the 'Lord's Day.'"

The remedy for all these flagrant actualities that belie our theoretical proclamation of the divorce of Church and State can be gotten only in one way. We, the people of the United States, must make such laws as shall be explicit and sufficiently catholic to cover all cases where the church trespasses on the territory which we have theoretically but not practically proscribed her.

The voters in each commonwealth of the Union should be vigilant and see to it that the Legislature enacts such specific measures as to prohibit the reading of the Bible in the common schools for religious purposes, and it may just as well be declared once for all that wherever the Bible is used in the public schools it is solely for religious purposes.

Appeals to School Boards, and memorials to school authorities, have proven futile. The State must step in and checkmate the insinuating sectarianism that threatens to change the fundamental principles of our government. The

prophecy "that we shall have a national issue on this matter of school reform, and that it will be as vehement as any national issue has ever been," may be open to considerable doubt, but it is almost a certainty that the problem of public school education will be made a State issue in State elections. It is well to begin to pave the way for that time and to be prepared for the battle when it will be at hand. The ballot and it alone will finally settle the persistent question of "The Bible in the Public Schools."

Church and School must be divorced. Neither petitions, nor quarrels, nor any other indirect means, will keep them apart. The State will write the bill of divorce. The citizens will dictate it. The people that are mortally afraid that this complete separation will engender danger should be reminded of the words of Whittier:

"Nor heeds the sceptic's puny hands,
While near her school the church spire stands;
Nor fears the blinded bigot's rule,
While near her church spire stands her school."

QUOTATIONS OF OPINIONS.

"It is not fair to require the Jews or those of some other faith, that are not Christians, to read the Scriptures. The question arises—if you read the Bible in the schools, what Bible? King James is the Protestant Bible, and the Douay the Roman Catholic. . . . What we call morality can be taught without the use of the Bible. The State has nothing to do with religion."—*Rev. Dr. H. G. Jackson* (Methodist).

"It is a double wrong (speaking of taxing a man to pay for a school to whose religious exercises he objects). It is politically wrong, because if such a man educates his children at all, he must educate them elsewhere, and thus pay double taxes, while some of his neighbors pay less than their due proportion of one, and it is religiously wrong, because he is constrained by human power to promote what he believes the divine power forbids."—*Horace Mann*, in his 12th report on the schools of Massachusetts.

"Religion is essentially distinct from civil government, and exempt from its cognizance. A connection between them is injurious to both; there are causes in the human breast which ensure the perpetuity of religion without the aid of law."—*Madison*.

"Religion here in America is more sincere than in England, because here the people must look out for it themselves and secure no State recognition or support."—*Morley*.

"We stand second to none in our loyalty to the Constitution and the established institutions of our country, chief among which is the American common school, established on non-sectarian principles by the separation of Church and State. We deny absolutely the right or expediency of introducing re-

ligious instruction into the tax-supported school in the United States. We deny the principle that religious instruction, under any possible contingency, is a proper function of the American State, and brand all arguments and analogies drawn from the educational experience of European countries with a State Church as false and misleading for this country. We deny that the common school is responsible for the moral and religious crisis in the country, and protest against the proposed introduction of religious instruction into the public schools as reactionary, un-American, unconstitutional, illegal, subversive of civil and religious liberty, and, whether advocated wittingly or unwittingly of the vital principles involved, as inimical to the best interests of both Church and State, and tending to increase rather than cure the ills of society. Such reactionary school legislation, we believe, would justly expose our honorable Board of Education and the citizens of the District of Columbia to the ridicule and contempt of leading educators and all fair-minded, liberty-loving American citizens the country over. . . .

"The Constitution of the United States expressly forbids such sectarian teachings of religion and morals in the tax-supported school as is generally conceded to be necessary for complete moral character and American citizenship. The American common school was never designed to give complete preparation for American citizenship. No objection is made to the teaching of such a body of commonly accepted principles of morality as might be agreed upon. But we oppose thrusting upon the common school the extra burden of the home, the Sunday School, and the church, in addition to its legitimate work as a branch of the State, as confusing and destructive to all. Such an educational policy would be suicidal. . . ."—From *Petition to Board of Education by the Pastors of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*.

"It is because the Church and Christian parents have failed to give the religious instruction that they ought to have given that the demand is made for such instruction in the public schools. With anxiety, it seems sometimes almost with desperation, they ask that the State shall do what the Church has failed to do. The State can not do what they ask, but the Church can. With renewed zeal and the best educational methods she must supply the religious instruction that the State and its schools can not give."—From *The Churchman*, the leading Episcopal paper in the country.

"Religious teaching by the State is no novelty—nor blessing. It has been corrupt, or intolerant, wherever it has existed; and usurps a function which belongs, not to the State, but to the family and the Church. For better or for worse—let him who regards the question as open to doubt call it what he will; I have no slightest doubt upon the subject—our republican institutions rest upon the declared cornerstone of absolute freedom in religion. The State can not teach it without being false to the Constitution; and whatever substitute, ethical, speculative, or sentimental, she introduces into our public school system, she is equally debarred from being, there, a religious teacher."—*Bishop Potter*.

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2. Religion in the State, or The Bible in the Public Schools. DR. SPEAR. Dodd, Mead & Co., 1876.
3. Separation of the Church from the Schools Supported by Public Taxes. W. T. HARRIS, U. S. Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C. Essay in Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the 42d Annual Meeting of the National Educational Association, pp. 351-60.

RABBI KOHLER.—This report deserves our warmest comment. At the same time, before it takes its final form a few additions ought be made. There is, for instance, no reference to the action of France in regard to Sectarianism, where the Bible has been abolished and and something else has taken its place.

PRESIDENT.—I would suggest that all those gentlemen who have ideas on the subject should send them in writing to the committee, who will give them due consideration.

RABBI GRIES.—I think this problem is of vital importance, and we are under obligations to Rabbi Lefkowitz. Yet I am not certain that the committee would not want this to be sent broadcast through the country as it is. I mean there are statements in this pamphlet which I am inclined to challenge. I question some of the statements in Paragraphs II and VI. Then the discussion of the rise of Parochial Schools contains facts which are not in accordance with my information on this matter. Historically, it is not true, that the State and church developed slowly because of their association. We understand development from the standpoint of liberality, and the church interprets development from another point of view. Likewise, certain elements are not mentioned in this report. In the bibliography certain omissions occur, such as the work of Parker of Chicago, and others, which I cannot name just now. So likewise, there is absence of reference to insistence of a regular campaign through the public press. When the problem comes up in our own Jewish communities we will all have to turn to such a pamphlet as this. Another point that ought be mentioned is that there is no legal reason for Sunday being the legal Sabbath day. I move, therefore, that the

committee continue its work, in co-operation with the members of the Conference, and that a revised report be sent to all the members of the Conference.

RABBI KOHLER.—I second this motion, and would add something about ethics. If you allow teachers of the public schools to instruct children in ethics, you must take care lest religion in some form or other should become confused with this subject. This is a very perilous thing. I would suggest that this paragraph be revised, and the mode of teaching ethics should be given in a formal, explicit way.

RABBI LEFKOWITZ.—I would state in defense of this pamphlet, that this was but a tentative form, because there were only four men on the committee to work. We brought this to your attention because we wanted to bring something before the Conference to arouse your criticisms, so that we may know your position and ideas regarding the matter. The bibliography here amounts to almost nothing, since the member of the committee to whom this was assigned was restricted because of library limitations.

RABBI PHILIPSON.—Before you put this question, I would like to add, that if the motion is carried, it would negative the report of the Committee on the President's Message.

RABBI GRIES.—This report has not been as yet authorized to be published. I would, therefore, ask that my motion be stricken out.

PRESIDENT.—We have taken action on this report, that it be referred to a Standing Committee. Now we can take action towards reconsideration of the Committee on the President's Message.

RABBI C. LEVI.—We have no report until this report is accepted. When this report is accepted then action is logical.

PRESIDENT.—Are you in favor of Rabbi Gries's motion, that the report be referred back to the chairman of the committee for further work, that all of you give him the benefit of your ideas, and that he bring in a fuller report next year?

RABBI GRIES.—Do we want to wait a year?

PRESIDENT.—Will you frame your motion accordingly?

RABBI GRIES.—I move that this report be referred back to the committee for revision, and that this report come before the Standing Committee on Church and State, and when this Standing Committee approves the report, it should be turned over to the Executive Committee, which shall decide as to publication, distribution, etc. (Carried.)

Rabbi Franklin read report of Committee on Social and Religious Union.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL RELIGIOUS UNION.

To the President and Members of the C. C. A. R., Cleveland, Ohio.

Your committee on Social Religious Union, appointed last year in accordance with Recommendation III of President Krauskopf's message (see Year Book page 27) beg leave to report as follows:

We have carefully studied the problem of closer union between the minister and the laymen of the congregation, as embodied in the President's recommendation, and as a result, cannot too strongly urge that steps be taken by this conference to create within our congregations such institutions as will tend to foster a spirit of closer friendliness and better understanding between the pulpit and the pew, but more especially a closer fellowship between the members of our congregations themselves.

One means of accomplishing the first of these purposes has been suggested by the President in his message, viz.: The meeting at a collation once a month, of the minister and representative members of his congregation, at which occasion questions of congregational and religious interest are to be informally discussed.

One of our congregations, indeed the one whose hospitality we are now enjoying, has carried out the idea that has been suggested. It has organized a "Temple Club" to which are eligible all officers of the congregation and all members of standing committees, and this club meets at a collation at stated intervals for the discussion of themes affecting the congregational welfare. The objects of this Temple Club may be summed up as follows:

(a) To secure for the officers and committee members, through discussion of the same, an intelligent understanding of the problems confronting the congregation; likewise to awaken an interest in the problems and to secure the harmonious co-operation of the officers and committees and the members, in all the varied activities of the Temple.

(b) To consider problems of the community from the religious standpoint.

(c) To keep in touch with the larger Jewish interests, and

(d) To welcome, as the guests of the Club, distinguished Jews and others who may deserve such recognition.

The organization is a distinct benefit to the congregation, in that it encourages members, who otherwise might be indifferent, to take such active part in the affairs of the Temple as to warrant their appointment to important committees, and thus make them eligible to membership in the Temple Club.

There have been established, from time to time, various organizations, which, while they do not directly meet our problem, at least offer a suggestion that is worthy of consideration. Foremost among these, are the "Maccabees" of London, organized in 1892 for the promotion of Jewish interests, and the "Judaicans" of New York, established five years later upon similar lines and for practically the same purposes. These societies contemplate a social-literary club, composed exclusively of Jewish professional men, who at stated intervals, or as in the case of the Judaicans, "when either the man or the occasion makes it desirable" come together at a round table and listen to the presentation of a paper or papers on some timely theme of Jewish interest. But such an organization, however beneficial it may be, in the matter of bringing Jewish scholars into contact, is after all *extra-congregational* and therefore apart from our problem.

What concerns us essentially, is the working out of a plan by which the members of the congregation can be brought *under congregational auspices* into closer fellowship, and so be made to feel a keener interest in congregational affairs. It need not be pointed out to you, who have yourselves individually had to face the perplexing situation, that in most communities the Jewish life, or what is commonly called the Jewish life, is predominantly *social* rather than *religious*. It shall be the work of the Social Union to restore the synagogue to its rightful place, enabling it to direct not only the religious life of the Jew, but also to guide and ennoble his social life.

In some few communities, a beginning has been made in this direction, and with most gratifying results. In several congregations, the annual meeting is preceded by a congregational supper, served by the ladies, and this serves a two-fold purpose. It brings out a much larger attendance than could otherwise possibly be hoped for, and as a good meal is a precursor of good humor, it tends to greater harmony in the meeting itself. Moreover, the presence of the women at the annual meetings of our congregations is something to be greatly desired. Their very presence exercises a restraining influence over the men, who in the discussion of congregational problems, sometimes forget the good old maxim "Know before whom thou art standing."

But although this committee heartily recommends the institution of this annual dinner, we feel that a gathering of this character once a year is far too infrequent to compass the end we have in view. For this reason, we regard it as imperative that an effort should be made to bring the minister and

the members of his congregation into social fellowship very much more frequently, and preferably not less often than once a month. The lines along which the gathering is to be carried out, will depend largely upon local conditions. Wherever the vestry or assembly rooms of the Temple are accommodated to such gatherings, the meetings should take place there, in order to emphasize the congregational character of the function. It is not essential that the collation be elaborate. In fact, it should in every case be secondary to the prime purpose of the gathering.

The objects of the Social Union should be:

(a) To offer to members, old and new, the opportunity of becoming better acquainted with each other; (b) to afford the people an opportunity of meeting the rabbi, and the rabbi of meeting his people, socially and informally, thus to acquaint them with their responsibilities as members of a Jewish congregation; (c) to make clear to the people, the religious and philanthropic problems of the congregation and community; (d) to arouse in the people an interest in Jewish activities; (e) to offer wholesome entertainment and needful instruction to the members.

To this end, a plan like the following is offered for your consideration, which, it may be stated, is based upon an actual experiment that has proven wholly successful. The creation of a Social Union Committee, which is to consist of men and women whose duty it shall be to provide, once a month, an entertainment and refreshments for the members. In the case quoted, three entertainments at intervals of a month, thus arranged and carried out, were as follows:

(a) A high grade musical program, participated in by talented young people of the congregation.

(b) The presentation, on Purim eve, by local (i. e. congregational) talent, of a series of tableaux representing the events related in the Book of Esther.

(c) A lecture on a topic of present Jewish interest. In each case, the entertainment was followed by the ladies serving light refreshments, and it is marvelous how, through these affairs, the feeling of good fellowship among the members and their interest in congregational matters have grown. It should be said that all expenses were paid from the congregation's treasury, though this is not absolutely an essential of success. This plan, which has been very successfully carried out in one way or another in several leading congregations, represents a great forward step in bringing back the center of Jewish life to the Synagog.

In communities where there are several congregations, it is recommended that inter-congregational socials should be occasionally arranged thus affording a means for the discussion of matters affecting the entire Jewish community.

In view of all the foregoing, your Committee makes the following recommendations:

1. That a circular letter be sent to the Officers and Rabbis of congregations

represented through their ministers, in the Conference, calling their attention to the importance of instituting a work along the lines suggested, and outlining a plan for organization.

2. That appropriate outline programs be prepared by a committee of this Conference, to be furnished congregations gratis upon application for the same.

3. That, for the sake of uniformity, a request be made that in each instance those entrusted with this work in their communities should be known as the "Social Union Committee."

4. That congregations be requested to report annually to this Conference, upon blanks to be furnished for that purpose, the work undertaken along the lines suggested, and the results thereby achieved.

In conclusion, we urge upon the members of this Conference to give this matter their earnest and painstaking consideration, as it touches a very vital feature of our whole congregational life.

Respectfully submitted,

LEO M. FRANKLIN,

MOSES J. GRIES,

HENRY BERKOWITZ,

Committee.

Upon motion the report was received.

PRESIDENT.—What is your pleasure as to the report itself?

RABBI C. LEVI.—I do not want to go into details about this. But I would say, that to me the expression Social Union does not mean anything special. I have tried to explain to myself the expression Social Union. The word social involves union, and what does union mean? Why not use the expression Congregational Union?

PRESIDENT.—The committee will consider this suggestion.

RABBI FRANKLIN.—In regard to the name, I would say that the committee wrestled a good deal with it. After much discussion of this name we thought it would be most satisfactory to the Conference. I would add that this matter of social union does not reduce itself to small things. It is a matter of bringing your members closer together with the Rabbis.

PRESIDENT.—The committee will consider all ideas and suggestions presented to it.

Upon motion the report was adopted.

The Committee on Resolutions begs leave to make the following report:

Your Committee notes with satisfaction that the various papers and reports presented at this session of the Conference have been of unusual merit, showing, on the part of those who prepared them, a keen appreciation of their duty, to give the Conference their very best thought and effort.

Be it resolved that the Conference expresses its appreciation, especially to those of its members who, by their scholarly researches and practical suggestions, have helped to make the sessions of this Conference so very instructive and suggestive to us all.

In this connection, your Committee begs to record the regret of the Conference that sufficient time was not at its disposal to permit the reading in its entirety of Dr. Schwab's scholarly paper, which, when printed in the forthcoming Year Book, will be a valuable and permanent addition to our meagre literature upon the origin and development of the Kaddish.

Your Committee notes with regret that several of the papers announced in the official program have not been presented to this Conference, and we commend the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, that no paper be read before this Conference or printed in the Year Book, when not presented to the Conference by the author in person, unless illness or other unavoidable causes make his presence impossible.

Your Committee is in hearty agreement with the resolution that the establishment of an American Jewish Quarterly Review is eminently desirable, and we recommend that the resolution of the Philadelphia Conference (Year Book, 1901, p. 88) be re-affirmed, and that a committee, as called for in that resolution, be appointed with instructions to report at the next Conference.

We recognize the valuable contributions made by Rev. Dr. Meyer Kayserling to the historical literature of the Jews, especially his contributions to the history of the Jews in Spain and Portugal, and of their participation in the discovery of America.

We recognize, furthermore, his eminent services rendered to the Jews in behalf of their civil rights.

Be it therefore resolved that the Central Conference of American Rabbis records its deep sorrow at the death of this great sage in Israel, and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to his family.

On June 1, 1905, five months after his ninetieth birthday had been duly observed, wherever Jewish learning is held in esteem, Isaac Hirsch Weiss, the famous Lector of the Vienna Beth Ham-Midrash, the Nestor of Jewish historians, was summoned into the Yeshibah shel Maalah. The distinguished services rendered to the science of Judaism by the celebrated editor of the "Beth Ham-Midrash" and "Beth-Talmud," the renowned lecturer, essayist and keen-minded critic, and eminent author of many classical works, are

well known. His "Midoth Sopherim" (1865), his "Mishpat L'shon Ham-Mishnah" (1867), and, above all, his "Dor-Dor-V'dorshav," the master-work of a great master, have guided the voyager on the sea of the Talmud, along new paths. As in his first works, "Orach le Zaddik" and "Mezzach Yisrael," published in 1861 and 1862, respectively, so in his latest work, "Zichronosai," he proved himself an authority in the history of Jewish tradition. Be it therefore

Resolved, That we, the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, herewith place on record our profound grief at the demise of Isaac Hirsch Weiss and our gratitude to the memory of this immortal teacher in Israel; and be it further resolved that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the members of his family.

Resolved, That in recognition of the fact that in the year 1906 occurs the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Samuel Holdheim, the renowned theologian and bold pioneer of the Jewish Reform Movement, the Executive Committee of this Conference be instructed to assign a paper to one of the members of the Conference, to be read at our next Conference, setting forth in a comprehensive manner the life and work of this masterful leader.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee appoint a committee to take under advisement and to report at the next Conference, plans for the appropriate commemoration in the year 1910 of the centenary of the birth of Abraham Geiger, the distinguished Jewish reformer, historian, and authority in Jewish science. Be it further

Resolved, That this Committee confer with the authorities of the Hebrew Union College, and with Professor Ludwig Geiger of Berlin, Professor Ignatz Goldziher of Buda-Pest, and the Rev. Dr. Sigmund Maybaum of Berlin, to ascertain the possibility and advisability of commemorating this centenary by the publication of his best contributions to Jewish science and theology.

250TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SETTLEMENT OF JEWS IN AMERICA

In view of the celebration on Thanksgiving Day, 1905, of the 250th anniversary of the first settlement of Jews in the United States, be it

Resolved, That the members of our Conference, in their synagogues and Sabbath Schools, distinguish the Sabbath preceding Thanksgiving by special services, sermons, and addresses, appropriate to the occasion; that, to further this end, a committee be appointed, to prepare a special order of service; that this Conference send representatives to the celebration planned to be held in the city of New York; and that we co-operate with other organizations, in order to give national significance to the celebration of this historic event.

Resolved, That a day be set by the Executive Committee, to be known as "Rashi Day," on which all the rabbis of the country, members of the Con-

ference and non-members, preach to their congregations upon the life and service of Rashi; that Prof. Schloessinger's able paper on Rashi, with bibliography, be printed at once, to be sent to the rabbis of the country in due time. (Carried.)

In view of the initiative which the President of the United States has taken, toward the consummation of peace between Russia and Japan.

We hail with satisfaction the nearer approach to one another of the nations and peoples of all civilized lands, as a harbinger of peace and good-will and of the enlargement thereby of the world's sympathies.

As the peoples of the world come nearer together, larger will be the sphere of love and enlightenment, so that no nation can suffer oppression and wrong without arousing the sympathy as well as the justified protests of sister nations throughout the world.

We heartily commend President Roosevelt for his moral leadership in humanitarian diplomacy for the promotion of peace among the nations, and direct our Secretary to communicate to him this expression of our earnest appreciation of his very effective efforts in this direction.

JULIUS RAPPAPORT,
LEO M. FRANKLIN,
MAX J. MERRITT,
SOLOMON FOSTER, *Secretary*.
SAMUEL HIRSCHBERG, *Chairman*.

Resolution referring to Kayserling carried by a rising vote.

Resolution referring to Isaac Hirsch Weiss carried by a rising vote.

Resolution referring to Geiger Memorial was changed so as to include the Faculty of the Hebrew Union College among a working committee.

Report as revised adopted as a whole.

Resolution offered by Dr. Silverman referring to Biblical history to be published by the Conference.

WHEREAS, There exists an urgent need of a Biblical history based on pedagogic principles and suitable for our Sabbath schools,

Resolved, That this Conference offer a subsidy for the preparation of such a Biblical history which may under certain conditions become the property of the Conference and thus the Executive Committee be instructed to carry

this resolution into effect and report to the next Conference its recommendations with regard to it.

JOSEPH SILVERMAN,
M. FRIEDLANDER.

Upon motion of Dr. Kohler this resolution was referred to the Executive Committee, which should make a report with regard to this proposition to the next Conference.

The following motion was made by Dr. Silverman:

Moved that the Executive Committee be instructed to reprint the Constitution in the forthcoming Year Book.

JOSEPH SILVERMAN.

Carried.

It was moved and carried that in the future no reference should be made to pensions in the report of the Corresponding Secretary.

Upon motion of Rabbi Gries, a revision of the week-day services contained in the Union Prayer Book was authorized, same to be printed in pamphlet form, sent to the members, who should offer suggestions before final copy be made.

Amendment to Constitution offered by Rabbi Silverman, that the office of a second Vice-President be done away with, and that in his place another member be added to Executive Committee.

Carried.

Amendment offered with reference to form of election of members of Executive Committee.

The following is offered as an amendment to the constitution.

Resolved, That that portion of the Constitution referring to the election of the Executive Board be so amended as to read: Members shall be elected to the Executive Board as follows—one-third for one year; one-third for two years and one-third for three years.

LEO M. FRANKLIN,
CHAS. S. LEVI,
DAVID MARX.

Carried.

Report of Committee on Nominations was presented, and Secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous ballot of the Conference. (*Vide* List of Officers.)

Report of the Committee on Thanks read and adopted by rising vote.

Mr. President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

GENTLEMEN: This Conference about to adjourn is not only the largest Rabbinical gathering ever convened in this country, but is also, by a happy coincidence, held in the city wherein, fifty years ago, assembled the first Conference of American Rabbis.

Where all have been so uniformly kind it is most difficult to individualize. The satisfaction of having accomplished, in the full sense of the word, their intentions is, we believe, to conscientious workers, the highest gratification. We herewith record that because of the sufficiency and generous entertainment as well as the cordial fellowship shown us we shall leave this city bound unto it by ties of friendship and gratitude.

To congregation Tiffereth Israel we extend our sincere thanks for the use of their beautiful Temple and the attentions shown us therein; to our worthy colleagues and brothers, Rabbi Machol for his kind words of welcome and Rabbi Gries for his untiring efforts and personal attention for the comfort and success of the Conference; to the secular and Jewish Press for their courtesy in reporting our proceedings; to the local council of Jewish Women for their considerate attention to the ladies of the Conference; to the Excelsior Club for the use of its rooms; and to all other institutions, organizations, and individuals that have either implied or shown to us hospitality. Especially are we indebted to the local Executive Committee for the Rabbinical Conference and its indefatigable Chairman for their assiduous labors and individual attention that will make our stay here a pleasant and memorable one.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID MARX, *Chairman*.

MAYER MESSING,

JULIUS RAPPAPORT,

M. FARBER,

LOUIS WITT, *Secretary*.

Words of appreciation of Conference in regard to work of retiring officers, and remarks were made by newly elected President and Vice-President.

Session closed with prayer by Dr. Kohler.

APPENDIX

A.

MEETING OUR PROBLEMS.

A SERMON PREACHED AT THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN
RABBIS, CLEVELAND, O., JULY 2, 1905.

BY RABBI LEO M. FRANKLIN, *Detroit.*

MY COLLEAGUES:—Beyond the brightest dream of the men who fifty years ago assembled in this hospitable city for the first American Conference are the conditions within American Jewry in which we share to-day, and to the making of which it is our privilege to contribute. The half-century that has sped by since Wise and Lilienthal and Hochheimer and Kalisch and Merzbacher and their few confrères of blessed memory gathered here in Cleveland to discuss matters of Jewish interest, has gained a place in our history, beside which any other period of similar duration is insignificant. These have been years that have proved the Jews' loyalty and fidelity to the faith of his fathers. The difficulties and the dangers attendant upon settlement in a new land and under new conditions were met without fear. The internecine strife that arose between the staunch upholders of ceremonialism and the pioneer American reformers, that at times seemed to threaten complete schism, has, I maintain, been so reduced that while both parties to the contest are even to-day commendably stubborn in maintaining their theological positions, there never has been a time when there was greater possibility for all the Jews of this country to stand together for the solution of their common problems and the furtherance of their common interests than is the case to-day. The demon Anti-Semitism raised its head anew during these years—a new Pharaoh arose who knew not

Joseph—yet who shall not say that correspondingly there has been lighted not in one heart, but in the hearts of thousands of our people, the spirit of a very Moses—and that howsoever we may differ in regard to the best way of meeting the problems created by persecution and its hand-maid, poverty, we are yet aglow with zeal to do and dare for our brethren who suffer at the hands of the oppressor? We have met intellectual enemies, too, during these years, and have routed them. Here and there Jews have indeed fallen by the way-side, but Judaism and the spirit with which it imbues life and the sacredness with which it infuses duty has not failed through this half century, and it is a weak heart indeed that would cry out amid present conditions, as though they were like those of ancient Samaria (Amos VI, 1).

“Woe to them that are at peace in Zion.”

I come to you to-day, my colleagues, with a hopeful word, for I believe that the pessimism which has of late become so fashionable in our pulpits is not altogether well-founded. Nay, for my part, whenever in accord with the Biblical injunction I remember the days of old, I thank God with all the fervor of my heart that I live in this new time, when Judaism is fulfilling itself as it has never had the opportunity to do before. Call me dreamer, romanticist, or foolish optimist if you so please, yet I hear God's voice calling to the rabbi of to-day as it did to the priest of the ages ago.

V'ishru eschem kol hag-goyim ki sih'yu attem eretz cheftetz omar Adonoi Zvo-oth.—(Amos III, 12.)

“And all the nations shall call you blessed, for ye shall be as a land of delight, saith the Lord of Hosts.”

Some of us have forgotten that the Jew has lived under the blessing of God. There is a tendency to-day, and I for one deplore it, to read the lesson of the Jew's life with tear-dimmed eyes and breaking voice, as though it were a story of martyrdom and not of mastery and as though indeed it were not one continuous narrative of heroic spiritual conquest and splendid achievement. There has been too much lamentation about suffering Israel, and not enough real appreciation of Israel, the Prince of God. We have heard much of “The Wandering Jew,” but of “Der Ewige Jude,” the deathless Jew, the indomitable Jew, the indestructible Jew, comparatively little has been

said. We have moaned and groaned so long, we have whined and wailed so constantly, that we have lost faith in ourselves and in our cause. Even we rabbis have keyed our message to the minor scale and, students though we claim to be, we have failed to comprehend that in our doleful preaching lay the psychologic cause of much of our people's listlessness and lack of enthusiasm. We have forgotten that to a dying cause few men will pledge allegiance. Confidence in our cause is half the battle won. We must therefore sound a new note, a note of hope and of promise, and though we realize that things are not as they should be within our camp, yet in the triumphal spirit of a Moses we must exclaim:

Ozzi v'zimroth Yoh vay'hi li li-yshuo.—(Exodus XV, 2.)

"My strength and my song is Jehovah, for He hath become my salvation," or at least in the confidence of an Isaiah we should cry out (Is. 51, 9):

"Awake, awake, put on thy strength, oh arm of God."

Yet do not misunderstand me. I am neither so blind nor so foolish as to hold that conditions as they are are to my liking. I loathe the ostrich-man, who closing his eyes to disagreeable conditions, persuades himself that they do not exist. I, as a Jew and as a rabbi, have the courage to look the prevailing indifference and skepticism, and disloyalty and lassitude squarely in the face. For I believe that they can be overcome. I would fear them only if I believed that they were the premonitory signs of inevitable dissolution. But I know that they are not. I know that they are but symptomatic of the times in which we live, and that they will prevail only if, like moral cowards, we run away from them. And this I believe has been fundamentally our weakness. We have indeed been keen in our appreciation of the dangers, physical and intellectual, that have beset us. But of our powers to meet them have we also been conscious? Nay, have not most of us in the spirit of the ten cowardly spies of whom this week's Scripture section tells us (Sh'lach Lecho), feared to go into the land of promise lest the giants overcome us, while but a handful among us all, like Joshua and Caleb, have had the moral courage to proclaim our mastery over conditions and to say with them: "Only against the Lord do not rebel, for then ye need not fear the people of the land; for they are our bread; their shadow is

departed from them, while the Lord is with us. Fear them not."—(Numbers XVI, 9.)

I lay some stress upon our intellectual enemies.

Kishineff aroused, perhaps, no more indignation in our hearts than Delitsch's "Babel und Bibel." We all preached mighty sermons when Houston Stuart Chamberlain published his "Grundlage des 19ten Jahrhunderts" and when Arnold White, with all the well-known processes of mental gymnastics, tried to prove Russia the God-appointed sponsor of the Jew. Yes, we occasionally even grow wroth when some little Christian preacher in some little Christian church tries to prove anew that the Jew has misread his Bible, and by that token has also missed his destiny. But what more? What more? Do we not know that after all these are but scholastic discussions, which ultimately analyzed have no real bearing for good or bad upon the Jew? And do we not throw our energies into them, to the disregard of problems that are really vital and upon the solution of which our permanence is absolutely dependent?

Maybe it is presumptuous on my part to speak thus to a company of colleagues among whom are many whose years and wisdom and experience should bid younger men be silent. But you have asked me to bring a message, and, if hesitating, I say in Talmudic phrase "*Oi li im omer*," I am spurred to go on and find justification in the other phrase, "*V'oi li im lo omer*."

There are problems that press hard upon us for solution in these days, but to me it seems that they are not problems purely scholastic, as some would have it. They are practical problems that intimately concern the well-being of the Jew. And chief among them is this: Is the Jew in this new world realizing himself to-day? Is he fostering the ideals that should be consistently his—is he doing the work that is his to do—is he meeting his problems with that confident spirit that is born of the consciousness of power to master them?

Nor are these questions merely rhetorical. We are living in a time when doubt is fashionable and skepticism is the badge of culture. And the Jew, like all men, is the creature of his environment.

While the bond of a common faith and the communion of a common history make the Jews of the whole world a spiritual unit,

so that when one Jew bleeds the whole house of Israel suffers, and when one Jew triumphs the Jewish world is glad, yet it cannot be disputed that the problems before us are largely such as are created out of the surroundings amid which we happen to be placed. The destiny of the Jew here, it is true, is given trend and direction by the fate of his brother Jew in every part of the world. That selfish folly has not yet dared proclaim itself that the condition of the Jew in Russia and Roumania is not of intimate and personal concern to us, and yet truth to tell the Jewish problem of America, if any there be, is not bone and sinew of that same problem as it appears in those benighted countries where bigotry, inhumanity, and fanaticism are native. A different set of social, economic, political, and religious conditions there create perplexities that from the nature of things cannot exist here. In America the Jew is part and parcel of the nation, sharing in the gifts and the glories as well as in the duties, and the sacrifices that citizenship in a free nation entails. He has no economic problem apart from that which confronts the whole American nation. He is not the social outcast, despite the occasional madness of the proprietor of some summer hostelry. He takes his equal place in the schools and colleges; he participates in statecraft; he is no mean factor in the commercial and industrial world—in short, he is in this land a man in proportion as he meets his opportunities and fulfills his obligations.

What then is the specific problem of the American Jew, which it is the duty of our pulpits to emphasize? If it is a problem neither social nor economic, nor political, nor commercial—if it is not a problem created out of unjust discrimination or unequal legislation—if it is not a problem that affects the Jew's legitimate prerogatives as a citizen of this great land—what is it? It is, as I conceive, a problem purely from within—a religious problem—nothing more and nothing less. "Shall we remain Jews or shall we give up our Judaism?" Shall we compromise with the new intellectual movements that challenge our faith, as having outgrown its mission and its usefulness, or shall we have the courage and the necessary conviction to prove, that though we be Jews—nay because we are Jews, we may lead—as Israel has led through centuries the very van of human progress? A new problem indeed! "Shall we remain

Jews?" As well might a previous generation have asked "Shall we deny God?"

And yet, is not this question forced upon us by the conditions of our life? The period of brutalism passed, ours is an age of crucial and critical analysis. Our right to be is challenged on intellectual and moral grounds. To-day we are told that the Jew is an anachronism—a splendid specimen for history's curiosity shop, but strangely out of place amid the throbbing and creative life of to-day. Well enough, the world reminds us, for the Jew to have lived as Jew in his ghetto and his narrow Judenstrasse—but in free America he has no mission and therefore no right to be!

And—shall we admit it—this proposition finds support at the hands of some of our own "intellectuals," if you please—who ignorant of the spirit and the history of our faith know not how much the world of to-day stands in need of the Jew's inspiring message. Nay they do not know the message for it has never been told to them and they have not read it in those burning words framed by that master soul, Isaiah, whom history calls "the great unknown," and which are recorded in the 56th chapter of his book (v. 6 and 7).

"Even the sons of the stranger that join themselves unto the Lord to serve Him and to love the name of the Lord. * * * Even these will I bring to my holy mountain and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted upon my altar, '*Ki vethi Beth Tfillo yikkore l'chol ho-ammim*,' 'for my house shall become a house of prayer for all nations.'"

When once this prophetic message of the Jew shall have been fulfilled—when once the peoples of the earth shall be gathered in spiritual oneness—when once God's house shall indeed be a house of prayer for all—then the Jew will not be needed more. But until then he must sound that message through the length and the breadth of the earth—prophet and proclaimer of human brotherhood.

I know where lies the responsibility for the ignorance that prevails, even in America, as to the spirit of the Jew's message. It is rooted in the first place, though not there alone—in the hopeless attempt on the part of orthodox Jews, honest enough in their purpose—but blind to God's own will—to maintain in its integrity a religion of rock-ribbed ritual, unsympathetic with modern progress, out of harmony

with the great intellectual discoveries of our time—and therein essentially untrue to its own mission, the creation of a spiritual fraternity among men. And though the words be bitter, shall they not be spoken? A faith like this must not end in the creation of zealots but of scoffers—not of Jews but of atheists and agnostics. In a word, America does not offer the environment, nor this age the justification for the practice of orthodox Judaism. Orthodoxy could thrive in the ghetto, because there it remained undisturbed by the great currents of discovery that were stirring in the living world. But to-day conditions are different. The children of orthodox Jews in America—affected thank God by the beneficent influences of our public schools, and by contact with their Christian neighbors—have their eyes opened as they emerge from childhood into youth, and they realize an incongruity between the faith of their synagogue and the message that God speaks through nature and the lives of living men. And then comes the inevitable struggle between duty to parent and duty to self; between duty to tradition and duty to conscience; between duty to the past and duty to the future; between duty to dead ritual and duty to a living world. And we know, alas, how the struggle ends. The desertions from the ranks of orthodoxy have told the sad story over and over again. “Shall we remain Jews?”—alas—how often, how often have young men in our day, unwise in their religious training, and misled by the contradiction between the demands of modern culture and the rites of unappealing ceremonialism, lacked the courage and the conscience and the wisdom, too, to remain true both to reason and to faith.

And this brings us to the other phase of our problem. We must meet fanatic blindness on the one hand, but not the less certainly we must be prepared to face that veneer of culture that makes for blatant atheism on the other. Ignorance is a mighty danger to religion, but so, too, is knowledge in its sophomoric stage. The “little scientists” scoff at God as loudly as the fanatic believers mock at science and its discoveries. It needs big men and big minds to recognize the all-pervading harmony of life.

The problem clearly comes to us of the Reform school, to stem the tide of indifference and desertion. O what a mighty responsibility! And how shall we meet it? Shall we meet it by slinking away from

the world—fearful lest contact betray us—or conscious of our right to be shall we stand forth among men, believing that we have something to offer for their uplift and their betterment?

Orthodoxy has replied through the mouth-piece of the Zionist. And truly orthodoxy and Zionism justify each other. If Judaism is to be a religion essentially ceremonial and unprogressive, it must live alone and away from the haunts of men and the breath of the living world. But Reform and America also justify each other. As America stands for cosmopolitan life—for life enriched and enlarged by intercommunication among men, so, too, does Reform Judaism. One and the other stands for the limitless brotherhood.

But right here my colleagues, I must sound a word of warning, lest we be misled, as others have been, by the very glitter of the term into the preachment of a weak-kneed, characterless, toneless, nerveless, spiritless brotherhood or humanity—so vague and insipid that it may mean anything or everything or nothing. I hold that the message of the Jewish pulpit must be a personal message to Jews. What the times demand of us are not professions of liberality. These are plentiful enough. But we need the practice of liberality, not only between the Jew and the world, but especially between Jew and Jew, between each of us and his brother.

We want the Jewish pulpit, as the mouth-piece of our Judaism, to be honest and fearless in its honesty. We want it to be Jewish and uncompromising in its Jewishness. We want none of your diluted humanity which sounds well, but means nothing. If Reform Judaism is only once again the religion of the Prophets, and on this point we seem fairly well agreed, then, in the spirit of the ancient Prophet the modern Rabbi must approach his task—sure of the message he has to sound and strong in the needful courage to speak it when and to whom he should. No more the priestly intercessor between God and man, he must be the Prophetic interpreter of man's duty in and to the world. It is a larger task and a more consecrated one. Nor is it easy. To rebuke wrong in the high places, and injustice and ignorance and selfishness in those upon whom a man is often dependent demands courage and a consecrated purpose in his work. But if the rabbi hasn't these, then let him step down and out. The coward has no more right in the pulpit, than he has at the head of a

host that marches to meet the enemy. It is the weak-kneed and characterless preacher who has brought Judaism and the synagog into disrepute in the eyes of many, and made possible the question as to whether the modern Jewish pulpit can justify itself.

It can justify itself, friends, only in so far as it stands as the mouth-piece of a faith that touches every man's life and every man's duty in the living world. It can justify itself only to the extent that it has conscience and courage to lay bare the sore spots in individual life, and in the organic life of the community and to point its finger to this man and that man and to say in the prophetic spirit—"Thou—thou art the man."

Nor can this be otherwise unless the pulpit be ready to lay down its influence as a moral force in the life of to-day. If it is to be a stage for entertainment; or a platform for diversion; or an admiration bureau that deals out weekly praise to its constituents—and you may spell weekly as you will—then of course the pulpit may be self-satisfied if it deal out well rounded phrases that in their ultimate analysis are words, words, words, without influence and effect upon the thought and life of the people. To be sure the honest preacher may not always be the popular pet. He is often most popular with the masses whose honied words are belied by his life and he establishes the reputation for great scholarship who uses great, polysyllabic words which neither he nor his people understand, and who points with pride to the bulky volumes in his library, beyond the covers of which he has perhaps not read a line. But there's something higher for the pulpit to strive for than popularity and praise. It is the influence which honestly administered, it may and must exert upon individual and organized life.

Because the sphere of religion to-day is bigger and broader than it ever was before, the pulpit message must be more forceful and more fearless; more positive and more powerful; more direct and more decided than it was. No more need the sermon represent the contortions and twistings of a Bible text, no more need the preacher be an intellectual gymnast. We love the Bible for its truth, and its inspiration, and its ethical fullness with a love that no generation surpassed. But we take our texts for the most part from the inspired pages of life's great book—a book as full of heroics, and of poesy, and of real

nobleness as any whose chapters have been canonized. Life must be the text and the theme to-day. It was not otherwise when the Prophets of Judea thundered their invectives against a foolish populace.

And for this especially must the Jewish pulpit stand to-day. We hear much about the mission of our pulpits to exalt Judaism. But the truth is Judaism needs no exaltation at our hands. Judaism is as it should be, a religion of refined faith and sterling duty. But Jews must be ennobled. Their standards of life must be raised high. We do not need a better faith—we need more faithful Jews.

This spirit our pulpit must embody. This purpose our preachers must attain. Personal purity—personal morality—personal righteousness—these are the demands of the Jew's religion and of these must be his pulpit's proclamation.

It is the work of the Reform rabbi to vitalize, to liberalize, to realize the faith of the Jew, and we shall do it with God's help, if in the face of every obstacle we retain our courage and our faith—believing nothing that is right impossible, nothing that is true unattainable, and nothing that is just to be beyond our reach. Go on then, men, my brothers, faithfully, fearlessly, lovingly, loyally working in the cause that is dear to us all, and may the God of our fathers help us and prosper us.—Amen.

B.

MESSAGE OF RABBI JOS. KRAUSKOPF, PRESIDENT OF CENTRAL
CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS, TO ITS SIXTEENTH
ANNUAL CONVENTION, CLEVELAND, OHIO, JULY 3, 1905.

Brethren of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

It is sixteen years, this month, that a handful of disciples and friends of our late and lamented leader, the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise, met at Detroit, Mich., to organize the Central Conference of American Rabbis. The handful of 1889 has grown to one hundred and eighty-seven members in 1905, and the Conference of little promise then looks back to-day upon a splendid record of achievements.

It has contributed to American Israel the *Union Prayer Book*, which, at the present time, is the medium of intelligent and uplifting worship in some one hundred and ninety congregations, among whom some seventy thousand copies have been distributed. In conjunction with the Prayer Book, the Conference has issued the *Union Hymnal*, that has enabled thousands and tens of thousands of young and old to find their voices again, in songs of praise and thanksgiving, in synagogue, school, and home.

It has contributed to the literature of Israel fourteen Year Books, containing a collection of papers on theological and practical subjects such as cannot be paralleled by any other similar publication issued by American Israel. Some of these papers are destined to live as classics in the literature of Israel, and some of the treatises and decisions published will continue to serve as authoritative "guides to the perplexed" for many scores of years to come.

In yet other directions it has proven its usefulness. It has made provisions for the superannuated of our brethren. It has come to the relief of many an unfortunate brother in distress. It has distributed freely of its literature wherever needed. It has encouraged

original research by the offer of prizes. It has demonstrated its loyalty to the Hebrew Union College by liberal contributions. It has given its active and moral support to movements looking to the betterment of the condition of the Jew at home and abroad.

But of inestimable greater value than its Prayer Book and Hymnal, its treatises and decisions and charities, has been the spirit of union it has fostered, the cordial and helpful association it has inspired, the dignity of the American Rabbinate it has persistently and successfully maintained. There has never been a Conference session that has not sent its members home wiser for having come, and safer in the guidance of their sacred charges. There has never been a Conference held that has not strengthened the member's independence of thought and action, and that has not held inviolable his congregation's autonomy in matters religious.

It is in this wherein lies the strength of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and the promise of its future. It is and will continue to be merely a deliberative and advisory assembly, not an ecumenical council, convened for the purpose of establishing creeds and dogmas, of fixing forms and ceremonies, and making compliance with them obligatory and difference from them heretical. We respect the majority opinion, but we do not concur in all things with the opinion of that Rabbi of old, who believed that קול המון כקול שדי "The voice of the multitude is as the voice of God." As Israelites we know too well the force that minorities have exerted in the history of civilization and in the progress of religion. In our assemblies, therefore, we honor the voice of the minority as much as we respect that of the majority, and, while we pay due heed to the Biblical command מפני שיבה תקום והדרת פני זקן "before the hoary head shalt thou rise and shalt honor the face of the old man," we are not forgetful of the debt which progress and reform owe to the thoughts and achievements of youth.

We meet for interchange of thought. We meet to hear the belief of others and to express our own. We meet to hear how others labor, and to learn how we might profit by their success. We meet to have our fears confirmed or dispelled, our enthusiasm clipped or winged. We vote to learn the consensus of opinion on matters of vital importance. But we never assemble to have individual inde-

pendence throttled or an unwelcome belief forced down our throats because a majority has voted in favor of it, or because this or that hoary-headed sage has pronounced against our view. Our fundamental principle is: Listen to all, profit from all, honor the opinion of all, but honor your own opinion above all, if after mature deliberation you cannot make another's belief your belief, nor another's practice your practice.

What better proof of the breadth of the Central Conference of American Rabbis than the fact that even your past President as well your present presiding officer conduct a Sunday Service, alongside the regular Saturday Service, albeit this additional service is strongly disapproved by a majority of our membership? What better illustration of the commendable tolerance of our Conference than the fact that even a number of your officers conduct divine services from a ritual other than that which the Conference prepared and introduced?

It is exceedingly necessary that we bear this in mind and that we emphasize it at every turn, for to a misunderstanding of it is to be attributed the confusion that obtains with regard to the establishment of a Synod. A considerable number oppose the proposed Synod because of their misunderstanding of the purpose which it is to subserve. Its existence, it is claimed, would fetter the independence of the Rabbi, would put an end to the religious autonomy of the congregation, would reintroduce the ban, and force reform and progress back to the thralldom of the Dark Ages. A prominent layman, who has repeatedly discussed with his Rabbi the need of an authoritative body to pass opinion as to what, in these days, constitutes Jewish belief and Jewish practice, expressed himself, in an interview, as opposed to a Synod. When asked for an explanation for his change of mind, he said: "Why, I thought I was helping you reformers. I thought that the Synod was proposed by the orthodox to suppress reform."

He is but one of many who have expressed themselves against a Synod, without knowing what is intended by it, without knowing that an American Synod was first advocated by Dr. Wise, the father of American Reform, without knowing that a Synod was enthusiastically championed by a majority of the foremost reformers and

reform associations of Europe, by such men as Geiger, Holdheim, Philippon, Lazarus; by such bodies as the Reform Associations of Berlin, Breslau, and Worms. And as this man expressed himself opposed to a Synod, from a desire to shield reform against orthodoxy, so are there others who oppose it, from a desire to shield orthodoxy against reform. These, too, seem ignorant of the fact that men of even such orthodox or conservative tendencies as Isaac Leeser and Zacharias Frankel, or such conservative papers as the Jewish Chronicle of London, advocated a Synod, on the ground, as Zacharias Frankel expressed himself, "Scholastic freedom as well as the independence of the congregations will be more secure in the hands of such an authority than it is in the present chaos where the priestly garb here, there, and everywhere is exploited in the most unworthy manner to the injury of learning and of the normal development of the congregations."¹ Or, as "The Jewish Chronicle" said, "We are inclined to believe that the meeting of such a Synod in our days is neither impracticable nor undesirable. . . . We are not afraid of being contradicted by any of our readers if we characterize the present state of Judaism in the civilized world as one calculated to give rise to very serious apprehensions."² Or, as S. Stern defined it, "It is not to consider itself an authority whose duty to make laws which, because they are issued by it, shall be binding upon all, but it is to look upon itself as the only and highest means by which the conviction and will of this body, composed of many, shall find expression."³

Thus we see that there are many who do not know that the Conference, far from desiring to constitute itself into a Vatican or from organizing itself into a heresy-hunting or reform-killing body, desires but the creation of a body of scholarly and representative men, who, after giving mature study to special subjects, laid before them for deliberation, will submit to the Conference their opinion, together with the literature that has enabled them to arrive at their conclusion, to be discussed by the Conference and to be accepted or rejected by its members, in accordance with their inalienable rights.

It is greatly to be hoped that the publication, entitled "Views on

¹ *Views on the Synod* p. 38. ² *id.* 44-45. ³ *id.* 8.

the Synod," recently issued by the *Committee on Synodal Literature*, under the Chairmanship of the Rev. Dr. David Philipson, and of which publication four thousand copies have been distributed, may have somewhat cleared the atmosphere and may have given a better comprehension than has hitherto been had of what is intended by a Synod. Knowing that many a vote has been cast against it because of misunderstanding, knowing that much of the adverse criticism

that has been published and expressed has been due to the same cause, knowing of the urgent need of an authoritative body, which shall speak with certain authority on

questions concerning which authority is needed and sought, knowing of the chaotic state that abounds in many quarters with regard to beliefs and practices in Israel, I earnestly recommend that due time be given at this Conference to a full consideration of this most important question.

What though it has been discussed a number of times before

אינו דומה שונה פרקו מאה פעמים רשונה פרקו מאה ואחר

"a lesson studied a hundred times is not like one studied a hundred and one times." Better light on the subject is sure to make a fair and final decision easier. The arduous and commendably impartial labors of the Committee render such a consideration imperative. What though this or that great man be opposed to it? Have not the Rabbis taught:

מאי דעתך דלא ידע פירושא דהאי קרא לאו נברא רבה הוא

One may be a learned man and yet not know some things.

And even though it should be voted down, far better to brave and face defeat than to fear reopening the question because of fear of defeat. As the Latins of old have said, "*In magnis et voluisse sat est*," in great things even to have wished to succeed must suffice.

But I fear no failure, Dr. Wise's life's hope, first given public expression to, in this city, fifty years ago, can be, will be realized, probably, at this Conference, notwithstanding all that has been published and said and agitated against it. Israel is in need of a central authoritative body. They who know anything of the loyal and intel-

⁴ Hagiga 9b. ⁵ Moed Qatau 16b.

lignant of our people know that their advocacy of a Synod is the expression of their desire to conserve their sacred heritage.

חזקו ואמצו אל תיראו ואל תחתו . . . מלפני כל ההמון אשר עמו כי עמנו רב מעמו*

"Be strong and courageous, be not afraid nor dismayed, even though a multitude be against us. There are more with us than are with the opposition."

A faint conception of what a Synod might be and could do will be given us at this Conference in the report of the Committee on Sectarianism. With commendable zeal, and with excellent judgment, that Committee, under the Chairmanship of Rabbi David Lefkowitz, has collected most valuable material, pointing out the illegality and danger of Sectarianism in our public schools and other public institutions. An authoritative literature on the legal status of the Bible in our Public Schools is now at our disposal, with which to engage our old enemy, Sectarianism, that has obtained an all too formidable hold in a country founded on a total separation of Church and State. With legal and moral right on our side, with the requisite weapon at hand, the fault would be entirely ours, if we would allow our apathy to jeopardize our religious freedom.

Too long have our children been obliged to listen in Public Schools, supported by Jewish citizens, to Bible selections in which our people are scandalized. Too long have our Public Schools been used as training ground for the inculcation of hatred and prejudice against the Jew. Too long have our children been obliged, around Christmas time and Eastertide, to participate in distinctively Christian religious exercises, or, by abstaining, to invite the dislike of their teachers or the ostracism of their classmates.

I, therefore, recommend, that the Committee on Sectarianism hereafter constitute one of our regular Standing Committees, that all complaints, inquiries, experiences, literature, touching this subject, be referred to it, that it be authorized to publish for free distribution as many copies of its present report as may be required, and of such other literature as it may hereafter publish.

Recommendation II.
Permanent
Committee on
Sectarianism.

It is but natural that the consideration of sectarianism in our

* II Chron. XXXII, 7.

Public Schools should call our attention to another wrong, equally as menacing to our rights. Not a summer season opens in the North nor a winter season in the South, but that we are obliged to read on letter heads, in printed circulars, in newspaper advertisements, that "*Hebrews*"—the term with which the bitter pill is generally coated—are not wanted, at so-called fashionable hotels. The humiliation which this exclusion has inflicted upon our people has been especially distressing because of a conviction that the insult is as basely cruel as it is fundamentally un-American. Yet, for more than a quarter of a century, we have suffered in free America an outrage that is almost unknown in anti-Semitic Europe. We have treated it all along with silent contempt. We have acted on the principle that to notice such indignities is to give them an importance they little deserve.

But the growth and spread of these hotel exclusion edicts have made manifest that a stronger weapon than silent contempt is needed for the eradication of an evil so virulent that, once it is permitted to root itself deep, there is no limit to its cancerous growth, and no end to the wrong it can perpetrate. From one summer hotel excluding Jews in 1877, the number has grown to hundreds in 1905. And from hotels the restriction has spread to schools, clubs, fraternities, and the like. The undreamed-of of a generation ago has become a common occurrence in our day.

Almost it seemed as if American Israel had come to look upon this exclusion as natural and ineradicable, when suddenly there appeared in the city of New York, a few months ago, a petition addressed to the Regents of the University of the State of New York, a petition that showed that the Jew has not yet lost his pride, nor forgotten the art of resenting insult against his good name. That petition was signed by eleven of the most prominent Israelites of New York.

It asked for the removal from office of Melvil Dewey, Librarian of the State of New York, and gave as reason for the serious nature of its request the fact that, besides being State Librarian, Mr. Dewey is also President and guiding spirit of the Lake Placid Club, and author of a publicly issued circular, in which he calls attention to

the many advantages of that Adirondack mountain resort, among which he mentions the following:

"No one will be received as a member or guest against whom there is physical, moral, social, or race objections, or who would be unwelcome to even a small minority. This excludes absolutely all consumptives or other invalids, whose presence might injure health or modify others' freedom or enjoyment. This invariable rule is rigidly enforced. It is found impractical to make exceptions for Jews or others excluded, even when of unusual personal qualifications."

The petition goes on to say that there reside in the State of New York about 750,000 Jews, a large proportion of whom are taxpayers, who contribute their quota to the maintenance of the State Library in which Mr. Dewey holds a salaried office. These Jews take a pride in their State, devote their energies and intellect to the development of its resources and industries, of its literature, art, and science, and they, therefore, feel that they have a right to demand that one who is a public servant of the State of which they form a part, and from whom he derives a share of his salary, shall not with impunity pander to base racial prejudice. When a high public official, continues the petition, the head of an institution to which the youth are accustomed to look for instruction and guidance, can so far forget himself, either from motives of bigotry, or greed, as to spread broadcast a publication which tends to make of the Jew an outcast and a pariah, the State cannot afford to allow an infamous precedent to be established. It owes it to itself to remove the officer whose act undermines the very foundation of our governmental system.

It was a bold step, and as right as bold. It displayed a spirit which, had it been shown in 1877 and since, there would have been little occasion for it in 1905. It exhibited a reserve and dignity most commendable. The absolute necessity for it showed itself clearly enough, when we consider that even he, who draws part of his bread from Jews, did not deem them deserving of sufficient respect for him to abstain from insulting them in public print, and from classing them with outcasts and outlaws.

As might well have been expected, the petition attracted widespread attention. It called forth considerable comment, editorial

discussion, newspaper correspondence, the general tone of which made doubly clear its timeliness and urgent necessity. The more or less of condemnation it has met with has made it painfully plain that to insult the Jew has come to be regarded as legitimate even in free America, and that it is considered not only daring but even insolent for a Jew to rise in defense of his sacred rights.

And most surprising of all is the fact that among the foremost deprecators of that petition are not only Christians, whose friendship for Jews is above all question, but even Jews themselves. Such a petition as this, they fear, cannot but increase hatred and prejudice. Even if it should succeed, its success would be worse than failure. It will intensify the dislike, and fan what now are but glimmering embers into a destructive conflagration. Suffrance has been the badge of our race, say these, and patience must continue to be our only weapon. If people do not want to associate with us, we should feel too proud to force ourselves upon them.

Thus runs their argument. It is the old argument, the argument of weakness and cowardice, that is much to blame for much of the prejudice against Jews in our day and in our country. They fail to grasp the whole purport of that petition who look upon it as a piece of revenge on the part of its framers, for having been excluded from a certain summer resort. Nothing is further from the petitioners than a desire to force themselves into places where they are not wanted. It is to the branding of a whole people as social lepers that this petition objects, and rightly, too, and he is a disloyal member of that people, who can countenance these insults, writhe under their injustice, and not feel himself moved to cry a halt to such outrages, and not set every legal and moral right into motion to put an end to such unwarranted indignities. Why should the world think better of us than it does, when in Sabbath School and in Church it hears the Jew accused, and in social life it sees the Jew ostracized, and not a Jew arising publicly and vigorously to protest against these utterly groundless charges and these unwarranted exclusions?

What we want is justice, not favor; what we demand is our rights, not privileges. We want hotel keepers to deal with individuals, and not condemn a whole people because of the social shortcomings of

some. Whosoever is not wanted for good and sufficient reasons shall be told so, but publicly to declare a whole people, among whom there are thousands who are the peers of the best, is to violate the fundamental principles of this government, which the Jew has helped to establish and to develop, for the perpetuity of which he has fought and suffered and died.

And that these insults can be lessened, and eventually stopped, has been amply shown by the results of that petition. The Board of Regents unanimously and severely censured Mr. Dewey's publication of the Lake Placid circular, officially communicated to him its rebuke with the admonition that it regarded his presidency of a summer-resort enterprise incompatible with his duties as State Librarian. Mr. Dewey, instead of resigning his librarianship, as a gentleman would have done, humbly swallowed the dose of rebuke, and promised to surrender the presidency of the Lake Placid Association.

That certainly was sufficient victory for a beginning. To the Jew it has shown what must be done, if we would lessen, and eventually stop, the unlawful and insulting exclusions and ostracisms to which we are subjected. To the non-Jew it has shown that things that are done with impunity in Russia cannot be done in America, and that what was regarded good and proper in the tenth century will not be tolerated in the twentieth.

What is wanted is continuation of the noble work nobly begun. What is needed is active and persistent warfare against the growing and fast-spreading anti-Semitism in

Recommendation III. America. I, therefore, recommend that a
Committee on standing Committee be constituted by this
Anti-Semitism. Conference, whose duty it shall be to give special consideration to this subject, to investigate the law bearing upon it, to set itself in communication with prominent lawyers and men of affairs regarding the most effective measures for the checking and ultimate suppression of it, and to publish the result of its studies and inquiries for free distribution wherever and whenever required.

There is a matter that bears close relation to the subject we have discussed, and that likewise calls for careful consideration by this Conference. Various newspaper comments and pulpit discourses

on the hotel exclusion edicts and on the Zionist agitations have brought to light the fact that there is a dangerous confusion in the minds of the people as to the status of the Jew in the United States. There are those who hold that the Jew regards only his coreligionists as his compatriots, that no matter where his body, his spirit is in Palestine, that he is eagerly awaiting the hour for his return thither, that he is looking for the coming of a leader, a Messiah, who shall restore him to the land that originally was his own. This being the belief, they regard the Jew as one who is not of themselves or like themselves, and they, therefore, subject him to the treatment that is generally accorded to the disliked or suspected stranger.

It would be gainsaying facts of history, were we to deny that, for some centuries after their expulsion from their native land, the national instinct continued strong in the Jewish people, and that their yearning was great for a return to the country which their people had inhabited as a nation for fifteen hundred years.

And we would have thought it strange if such feelings had not possessed them. There had stood the cradle of civilization. There had been thundered into the world those mighty laws and ordinances whose echo has not ceased reverberating to this day. There had ruled their illustrious kings; there had spoken and sung their prophets and bards and lawgivers of immortal fame. There their proud Sanctuary had lifted high its head. There were the fields and vineyards which their labor had made to overflow with milk and honey. There stood the vine and fig-tree under which they had hoped to see realized the day of promise, the day of universal peace and good-will. Little deserving would they have been of any country, had they not been proud of their own, had they not been eager, in the early days of their expulsion, to return to it, to make it once more their land of promise.

And it would be contradicting history, were we to deny the fact that the longing to return to the land of their own continued strong throughout many long and painful centuries, almost to our own day, in every land where the Jew was denied not only the right of citizenship but also the right of decent sojourn, where he was treated as the pariah of society, made to live apart from his fellowmen, compelled to pursue the most degraded callings, denied the barest human rights,

exposed to the insults and assaults of every drunken villain, of every heartless fanatic, of every lustful knave, of every rapacious marauder.

An equal contradiction of fact it would be, were we to deny that even at this very day the desire to return to the land that once was their own is strong, in such countries as Russia and Roumania, where the Jew has not yet obtained equal rights with his fellowmen, notwithstanding his having been a law-abiding, tax-paying, military-serving subject for centuries, where he is still treated to exclusive laws and to degrading discriminations; where schools and colleges, the professions, and the higher callings are still closed to him; where Kishineff massacres and Gomel outrages are of frequent occurrence; where the mere fact of being a Jew awakens hatred and invites insult; where the Jew has but the alternative between the loss of self-respect by becoming a convert to the dominant faith, or suffering degradation and misery by continuing faithful to the religion of his fathers.

But false is the charge that even in such countries as our own, or England, Germany, France, Holland, Austria, Italy, where the Jew is in possession of most or all his citizenship rights, he is wanting in the feeling of national kinship with his fellow-citizens, that even there he bears himself as a foreigner, that even there he is prevented from cherishing strong feelings of patriotism for the land of his birth or adoption, because his heart beats first and strongest for Israel, because it is his own Israelitish nation that commands his first tribute and his highest devotion.

And the charge is as malicious as it is false, for even but a superficial examination would suffice to convince the honest inquirer of its absurdity.

There is a misuse of language in the term "Jewish nation" that would be quite farcical were it not so sad in its results. A nation is a political union of a people—no matter what their race, creed, or color—that is ruled by the same government, is subject to the same laws, does homage to the same flag, inhabits the same country, or distant colonies or territories acknowledging the same government, law, and flag. To speak, therefore, of the ten millions of Jews, who live scattered throughout the world, who are not held together by the same government or the same law or the same flag, among

whom there has not existed a single bond of political union for eighteen hundred years and more, who do not command a single tract of land in all this wide earth over which floats a flag of their own, who do not speak a common language, or use a common ritual, or even acknowledge a common religious head, who have and hold absolutely nothing in common, save a common God and a common past,—to speak of such a people as a nation argues either ignorance of the meaning of nation or a wilful perversion of facts for malicious ends.

Others there are who account for the separateness of Israel on the theory of racial union. The Jew, they say, though scattered among the Indo-Germanic nations, is nevertheless separate and distinct from the people among whom he lives. His spirit does as little mingle with them as his blood. He is a Semite; they are Aryans.

And here enters the anti-Semite and tells us what he thinks of the Semite. The Jew is everywhere a noxious and a disturbing element, says this anti-Semite, he is unassimilative and unsociable, he is crafty and grasping, he lacks initiative and idealism—in short, his race is inferior to that of his Aryan neighbor, and therefore he is undesirable.

There is in this charge a blunder that would be equally as farcical as that other that makes of the Jew a nation, were it not equally as malicious and equally as prolific of evil. In the first place, it is a crime against civilization to speak of the so-called Semitic people as inferior to the so-called Aryan. Without in the least desiring to belittle the valuable services rendered by the latter to the cause of civilization, only he can speak of the Semite as inferior who does not know the infinitely higher service the Semite has rendered to humanity. It was he who laid the foundation to modern civilization. His is the God, his the sacred literature of half the population of the world. The Decalogue, the moral law, the Sabbath, the ethical and social principles of modern society are all his. His the prophets of deathless memory whose gospel was justice, whose doctrine was the might of right, who have served as exemplars to every political and religious and social reformer ever since. His the teaching of the Fatherhood of God while that of the Aryan was polytheism. His the teaching of the Universal Brotherhood while that of the Aryan

was the *Caste* system. His the teaching of democracy and independence, while that of the Aryan was absolutism and slavery.

In the second place, the theory of thorough-going psychical differences between Aryan and Semite is an exploded doctrine of a by-gone age. The belief that unpolluted and undiluted Semitic blood flows in the Jew is as much of a fiction as the one that unpolluted and undiluted Aryan blood flows in the Teuton, Saxon, or Latin people. Says Leroy Beaulieu: "All modern nations are a mixture of peoples and races, more or less thoroughly blended The existence of an 'Aryan race' at the present time is perhaps as imaginary as the existence of a 'Latin race.' We speak of a 'Semitic race' without even being certain that there has ever existed an ethnic group which ought to be so designated. The word Semitic is really only a linguistic expression. The Jews are called Semitic because the ancient Hebrews spoke a language called Semitic, and we are well aware that a language proves nothing in regard to blood." "Whether it suits or not, the Aryan and the Semite are brothers; all their characteristics bear witness to this. Both of them belong to that great white race, Caucasian, Mediterranean, or whatever you may please to call it, which claims the dominion of the world."¹ And Leon Metchnikoff tells us that "the group of Aryans presents no scientifically demonstrable unity except from the exclusively linguistic point of view."

If we accept the doctrine of monogenism, which declares that all mankind is descended from a single couple, then must all men possess the same blood, and the same physical and psychic constitution. If, however, we accept the latest teaching of ethnology, that of polygenism, which teaches that all nations are a product of amalgamation, then there exists no pure human race, and Alexander von Humboldt was right when he declared that "there are no ethnic stems that are nobler than others."

There have been differences among peoples, and some of them have had different destinies. But that was not due to inherent superiority or inferiority but to external environment. Certain people, being surrounded by more favorable geographical and cli-

¹ *Israel among the Nations*, Chapter IV.

matic and political conditions than those enjoyed by others, were enabled to develop more speedily and to achieve better results. Some were so favored in Asia, like the Israelites; some in Africa, like the Egyptians; some in Europe, like the Greeks.

And all of them interblended with other peoples. Abraham took unto himself Hagar, the Egyptian, for wife. Joseph married the daughter of an Egyptian priest, and Moses the daughter of a Midianitic priest. David was a descendant of the Moabitic Ruth. Solomon married a number of princesses of other nations. When Israel went forth from Egypt "a mixed multitude" accompanied them, which afterwards became absorbed in the nation. Esther married a Persian king, and many Persians embraced the faith of Esther. The Edomites were absorbed in the Israelitish nation, and a descendant of theirs, Herod, the Great, intermarried with the royal house of the Maccabees, and became ruler over Judea. In Alexandria, Jew, Grecian, and Egyptian blended their blood as they blended their mind. The founders of the Christian Church were Jews, and when they went forth into the world with their new faith, they not only blended pagan faiths with Jewish beliefs but also pagan peoples with Jewish blood. The royal family of Adiabene embraced the faith of Israel, even as did that of the Khazars with all the people of their realm. Josephus and the Talmud speak of the zealous proselytism of the Jews. Church council after church council saw itself obliged to enact rigorous laws, to decree even the punishment of death upon Christians embracing Judaism, making manifest thereby that the blending of blood was continuing all the time. During the Spanish persecution, the blending of Jews and Christians became so common, that it is a proverb in Spain to-day "You never see a Spaniard but you see a Jew." And the story of Spain is that of many another country, where the Jew was given the alternative between baptism or degradation or expulsion or death, where the Jew adopted the latter course, and in time became absorbed in the so-called "undefiled and superior Aryan race."

And what took place among the Jews took place among other peoples. The Phœnicians, a Semitic people, founded colonies all along the Mediterranean, intermarried with the natives, and laid the foundation to the Hellenic and Latin people and culture.

So much then for the purity and unity of race, so much for the homogeneity of all Aryans and all Semites. There is in each of us to-day the blood of different peoples, and the results of different cultures. To say, therefore, that only one of the Jewish faith has claim on our sympathies and affections, that a secret, psychic, racial tie binds us into one, and leaves us cold and indifferent to all others, is as false in theory as it is contradicted by fact.

Our affections know no difference between Aryan and Semite. Our sympathies are with the needs of the one as with those of the other. Our appreciation of all that is true and noble in the non-Jew is as great as our admiration of the true and good in the Jew. Our libraries are as Aryan as they are Semitic. In choosing our music or our art, we look to merit and not to whether the composer or artist is Jew or non-Jew. When famine swept Russia and the hunger-stricken cried for bread, it was a synagogue that was the first to answer Russia's appeal to the United States for aid, even though the famine-stricken district was not inhabited by Jews. When the Armenian cried aloud against the oppression of the Turk, and the Irish and the Boer complained of English injustice, the Jew's voice of protest was as loud as that of any other people. No matter what our origin or blood, we are human, and nothing that is human is foreign unto us, and no one who is a fellow-being is beyond the bounds of our brotherhood.

But what is it that makes the Jew, in some respects, different from the non-Jew, that prevents his assimilation with others and predisposes him in favor of his own? Is it religion?

There are Jews who are as rigorous in their orthodoxy to-day as were the Pharisees of two thousand years ago. And there are others whose faith is exceedingly lax, or who have no faith at all. Some there are whose departure from the Jewish faith is as radical as that of Prof. Felix Adler, or whose theological platform is the same as that of the Unitarian, like them keeping their Sabbath on Sunday, like them worshipping in the vernacular. And yet the orthodox Jew will associate and intermarry with the Jew of radical faith or of no religious faith at all, but not with the non-Jew whose faith is identical with that of the radical Jew; and the radical Jew

will associate and intermarry with the orthodox Jew, and not with the non-Jew whose faith is identical with his own.

The tie that links Jew to Jew the world over not being national nor racial nor religious, we are obliged to look elsewhere, and I believe that closer research will find the bond to be largely a social one. Man is a social being. To live healthily and happily, he must mingle with those whose nature and culture, whose past and present, whose condition and position are about the same. And these the Jew found most among the descendants of his common ancestry.

The very entrance of the Jew upon the world's stage was a protest against prevailing religions and morals. Into a world full of idolatries and tyrannies and immoralities he thundered the teaching that there is but One God, and He the God of all, and but one brotherhood, and that embracing all mankind. That was his teaching wherever he went; and wherever he taught it his answer was: Contempt and persecution; and, wherever hated and persecuted, there he clung all the closer to his fellow-sufferers for mutual protection, comfort, and inspiration. Hence, *like teaching and like suffering constituted in the ancient world the bond of brotherhood between Jew and Jew.*

The thus implanted predisposition of the Jew for the society of his fellow-Jew was powerfully deepened by the treatment accorded to him by the Christian. Zealous and unscrupulous propagandists tampered with the original and simple story of Jesus, the Jewish patriot and martyr of Nazareth. The stake for which the hazardous game was played was the conversion of the Roman empire to the new church. And to win that stake, violence was done to truth, and outrage perpetrated upon an innocent and defenseless people.

Henceforth the Jew was the deicide, the accursed, because he, the human, had slain a God. The further the new church spread the further spread the hatred against the Jew. Men made his existence accursed, and then they called him "the accursed of God." Nations hounded him from land to land, and then they called him "the out-cast of the Lord." People lowered him, by most inhuman treatment to the dregs of society, and then they spoke of him as "the degraded and punished of God." Churches fed on the spiritual products of his heart and soul and mind, read his Bible, sung his hymns, preached

his morals, knelt before his God, and then they spoke of him as soulless, heartless, godless.

Such was the treatment of the Jew throughout the Dark Ages; such his treatment throughout the Middle Ages, reddened by the blood of massacre, made horrible by the secret tortures and public burning at the hands of the Holy Inquisition, by the indescribable sufferings and miseries that attended the lashing of tens and hundreds of thousands of Jews from the lands of their birth to the lands of their death.

What could have been more natural than that the Jew—everywhere repelled, degraded, ostracised, should have resorted to his fellow-sufferers for common lamentation over his cruel fate, for sympathy, for which his heart craved; for esteem, of which he felt himself deserving; and which he needed to maintain his manhood; for cheer and courage, which his spirit required to continue his unequal fight; for association, for which his social instinct yearned. *Not national nor racial nor religious tie, but common injustice and outrage suffered, this it was that linked Jew to Jew.* This commiseration with each other, of the equally afflicted begat an instinct of fellowship that was deeper than national tie or racial bond, that stamped itself upon every fiber of the Jew, that wrote its sad story into every drop of the Jew's blood.

And to a large extent suffering still constitutes the bond that links Israel into a brotherhood of fellow-sufferers. Times have changed. Old philosophies and old theologies have passed away, and new ones have taken their place. Old dynasties have crumbled, and new powers have sprung into life. Mighty social and political upheavals have revolutionized society. Science has replaced the old and obsolete with the newer and the better. But the non-Jew's attitude toward the Jew has largely remained the same. Still is told and preached and taught the story of the Jew having slain a God, of having persecuted and crucified a Savior who has not saved, a Deliverer who has not delivered, a Redeemer who has not redeemed mankind from the vices and crimes and cruel wars in which it still is steeped. Still is the guilt of the Roman rolled upon the innocent Jew, notwithstanding learned historians and critical searchers have told and published the true story.

When yet in its mother's arms, or when sent to school in its early and impressionable years, the non-Jewish child has presented to it, on the one side, the fascinating life of the noble Nazarene, and, on the other side, the revolting story of the villainous Jews. The moment that story is told, that moment hatred of the Jew is implanted. Later preaching roots it deeper and deeper. He has the hatred of the Jew impressed upon him in literature. He has it presented to him in the drama. He meets it in the vocabulary of his language. He encounters it in the press. When some non-Jewish bank president defaults or some trust corporation swindles, he is not told in the press that the defaulter or swindler was a Catholic or Protestant, a Presbyterian, Baptist, or Episcopalian. But when some vender is arrested for selling without license, he is quite sure to read of the arrest of a Jewish peddler. Contact with Jews in later life may soften down some of the non-Jew's aversion engendered in his early years, but it is seldom, if ever, entirely eradicated. At best, dislike may turn into a sort of patronizing spirit, or apology may be made for not disliking some Jews, on the ground that they are "almost Christians" as if "goodness and Christian" and "wickedness and Jew" were interchangeable terms. To the very word "Jew" a stigma is attached by society, no matter how noble and cultured the man. It constitutes a valid reason for exclusion from certain so-called select societies, clubs, schools, hotels, and the like:

This the Jew knows, and good care is taken that he shall know it. Conscious of his historic desert; conscious that from his soil and labor have grown the most precious flower and fruit of humanity; conscious of the aristocracy of his origin and descent, the oldest and noblest aristocracy extant to-day; conscious that in public and private morals he occupies a higher plane than they who persecute or ostracize him, that, notwithstanding centuries of degradation, the criminal court, the divorce court, the inebriate asylum, the almshouse have but little dealing with him,—conscious of all this, he very naturally resents the insults and injuries that have been heaped upon him. Instinctively he withdraws from them who do not know him and who do not want to know him, among whom he is not suffered,

and yet from whom he has suffered and still suffers. The more he withdraws from them the closer does he cling to his fellow-sufferers.

And he never lacks for company. Go where he may, he meets those who are treated as he is treated, and who suffer as he suffers. Almost instinctively he seeks out those among whom, by reason of a common fate, he is sure to meet with a warmth elsewhere denied, where he is made to feel at home, where he meets with the respect that is his due, and with the appreciation that his merit deserves. Close association begets friendship; friendship begets love; love leads to marriage. And such marriages are the only ones sought and encouraged by the Jew, for, marriage, to be happy, must have back of it mutual love and mutual esteem, and mutual respect for the families, friends, and people of both the contracting parties, which, in the present state of relationship between Jew and non-Jew, is possible only in the rarest instances.

Israel, therefore, is not a nation nor a race, *it is a people of fellow-sufferers*. Not in the blood of the Jew but in the antipathy of the non-Jew lies the cause that links Jew to Jew in a bond of brotherhood. *The close bond of union with his fellow Jew and his social separation from the non-Jew are largely forced upon him from without by religious and social antipathy; they do not spring from within.*

Whatever your opinion may be as to the correctness of your President's position on this all-important subject, you must concur with him that the attitude of the non-Jewish world towards the Jew and that of the Jew toward the non-Jewish world, the general belief that the Jew holds himself separate and distinct from others because he constitutes a different nation and peculiar race, the ever-repeated charge of Haman of old, demands a final and authoritative answer.

Recommendation IV. I, therefore, recommend that this Conference appoint a Commission of five members that shall give this subject the serious study it deserves and formulate a statement that shall henceforth make clear the political and social status of the Jew among the nations, and

**Commission on
Status of Jew in
Body-Politic.**

us put an end to many of the unjust and prejudicial charges sed against our people.

And while this Commission is devoting itself to a consideration of the subject assigned to it, another Commission might give its attention to another matter, which, if not as pressing, nor as serious, nevertheless requires elucidation by a Conference such as this, I refer to the present unsettled state of Hebrew pronunciation. We have a Sephardic, an Ashkenazi, a Polish, and yet other modes of pronouncing Hebrew. By far the largest number of our literary men use one kind of pronunciation in the Synagogue and school-room, and another kind in print. The Jewish Encyclopedia, representing the highest present-day scholarship, makes use of a pronunciation that is at variance with that in use in nearly all of our congregations. Which is correct, that used in print or that used in prayer and instruction? If the former be the correct pronunciation, why do we adopt the incorrect in addressing the deity or in instructing our children? Surely, for the sake of consistency and correctness, we ought to arrive at a final decision as to which of the pronunciations is to be regarded as the correct one, and is to be adopted hereafter in speech and in print.

I, therefore, recommend that a Commission of five, with the President of the Hebrew Union College as its Chairman, give this subject its due attention, and present its decision,

Recommendation V. together with the literature and authorities
Commission on on which the decision is based, to the next
Pronunciation of meeting of the Conference.
Hebrew.

It is to be hoped that these Commissions, if approved by the Conference, will faithfully discharge their task, so that we may have no repetition of the disappointment to which the Sabbath Commission treated us a year ago. While it is true that it did some commendable work on its appointed task, it abandoned its labors before the work was finished, and as our Rabbis of old taught us הכתחיל במצוה ואימרים ליומור "who begins a commendable work must finish it," and also הנצוה נקראת על מי שגמרה "He alone is entitled to credit for commendable work who finishes it."

The Sabbath, already much sinned against, certainly deserved better treatment at the hands of its friends, and something ought surely to be done at this session of the Conference to retrieve some of the time that has been lost. I know that there are those who, disheartened by past failure, and by the general disregard of the Sabbath, would rather dismiss this subject forever, for fear that nothing can be done with it.

Such a course were wise if the Sabbath were not the one question on which pivots all our Judaism, the very future of our faith. The Sabbath question will not down. It calls louder for an answer to-day than it ever did before, and it is a mistake to believe that our pretending to be deaf to its call is a solution.

We know the difficulties that make attendance upon Divine Services on Saturday well-nigh impossible to nearly all of the adult male portion of our people, and also to a goodly number of our women whom the struggle for existence has likewise engulfed in the maelstrom of our various industries. We know that no religion can long maintain itself in vigorous faith and prosperous growth whose followers are strangers to the House of God, and to whom the ennobling and spiritualizing influences of religion are denied nearly all the year round. We know that the present-day materialistic, even pronounced atheistic, tendencies among our people are largely due to the deprivation of the religious life of which a religious Sabbath observance is an inspiring source.

Can we, dare we, as Rabbis and leaders in Israel, shut our eyes to this all too patent evil? Is there no remedy? Are we ready to admit that the Sabbath cannot be saved, and that we have no means to rekindle in the hearts of our people the once powerful and all-compensating religious spirit of our ancestors?

What of the Service that has been introduced in some of our synagogues on the first day of the week, alongside the regular weekly Saturday Service? We know of the fears that are entertained that such a service will tend to stifle whatever little life the Saturday Service still possesses. But a goodly number of those who have introduced an additional Service on the first day of the week tell us that far from its having lessened the sanctity of the Saturday Sabbath, it has but tended to fan it into a brighter and stronger flame,

by attracting goodly congregations on Sunday, by appealing to their senses of honor and loyalty, by instructing them in the history and religion of their fathers, and in the duty they owe to their God and to themselves. The men that tell us this are among the representative men of our Rabbinate. Are we to believe them or are we to ascribe their glowing accounts to an overwrought enthusiasm? If their accounts are true, if the additional Sunday Service, instead of doing violence, has but strengthened the Saturday Sabbath Service, have we any other alternative than recommending the speedy introduction of such an additional service.

I, therefore, recommend that a Commission of five be appointed whose duty it shall be to institute a thorough and impartial inquiry as to the results attained by the additional

Recommendation VI. Sunday Service, of a week-day nature, as to **Commission on Sunday** the influence it has exercised on the Saturday Sabbath observance, as to the influence **Service additional** it has exerted on the congregation in the **to Saturday Sabbath Service.** way of developing deeper religious feeling and greater enthusiasm for our sacred cause.

And it is to be hoped that the committee that shall pass upon this part of the President's Message will not content itself with merely reiterating the clause in the Pittsburg Platform that bears upon the subject. We have had enough of phrasing. Action is needed in the present crisis. If the additional Sunday Service be found hurtful to the Saturday-Sabbath Service then let us condemn it with all our might. If it be found helpful, then let us not only commend but urge its introduction at the earliest moment possible. The need demands it; the cause is deserving of it. Courage in dealing with the Sabbath question will make it victorious in the end, will enable a coming generation to say of it as was said of Jacob of old **כי שרית עם אנשים ותוכל** "Thou hast wrestled with fate and with men and hast prevailed."

We have had occasion, a little while ago, to speak of a Committee that disappointed the Conference in its reasonable expectations, after two years' waiting. By way of contrast, it is a pleasure to be able to chronicle to-day that the Committees appointed, or given further

time during the last session of the Conference, have labored faithfully, and are for the most part ready to report to us the result of their work.

Of the Committee on Synod and Sectarianism we have already spoken. Together with their reports, there will be laid before you by Dr. Kaufman Kohler, the "Report of the Commission on Prof. Margolis' Paper on the theological aspects of Reformed Judaism, and on his motion to have a creed of Reformed Judaism prepared for final adoption by a Synod," for which report I bespeak the thoughtful consideration it deserves. The same attention I bespeak for the Report of the Commission on Social Religious Union, Rabbi Lee M. Franklin, Chairman. This report, as pointed out in last year's message, deals with a vital subject in congregational life, is deserving of your most careful thought, and of an unanimous adoption and a speed introduction of its recommendations.

There will be laid before you an index of the fourteen volumes of Year Books and Appendices that have been published by the Conference, an index carefully compiled by Rabbi H. G. Friedman, and which you will find a most valuable publication.

Of the greatest interest and value you will probably find the report of the Committee on the Haggadah, Dr. Henry Berkowitz, Chairman. This report takes the form of an almost completed Seder Ritual, which, when completed and adopted, will constitute a distinct and scholarly contribution by the Conference to the Liturgy of Israel, and will fill a want that has long been felt, and that will once more restore the *Seder* evening to the distinguished place it once held in the households of Israel.

There yet remains for us to speak of the success that has attended the *Peoples' Synagogue* at Philadelphia, inaugurated last year, under the auspices of the Conference, with the financial aid of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, through the efficient and personal labor of Rabbi George Zepin, Field Secretary of the Synagogue Extension Movement.

Rabbi Zepin entered upon his labors, during the month of August last. He soon found that his work required all the faith and enthusiasm at his command, for he had no sooner made his purpose known than the whole orthodoxy of Philadelphia emptied its vials of wrath

upon his inoffending head. The Jargon press agitated against the movement, handbills were circulated, warning young and old against attending the pernicious service of the reformers and disguised missionaries.

The following is an exact copy of the contents of one of these handbills:

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

We find it necessary to make known to all Jews in the city that the place 422 Bainbridge Street, which is advertized as a House of Worship for the Holidays, is not a synagogue, merely a Radical Reform place, which is organized through the missionary labors of the reform party, where the so-called worship of God is in English, with an organ and all the customary reform innovations.

Every Jewish man and woman, who cares for our religion, our Torah and our nationality, should keep himself and his children from going there—

For

Reform is opposed to religion, opposed to the Torah, and against everything dear and holy to our people. The Committee.

But, nothing daunted, a down-town Reform Congregation was organized, named *Congregation Israel*, a hall was secured, fitted up as a place of worship, the up-town Reform Rabbis gave their active support, the Conference provided the Prayer Book, regular services were established, and when the Holidays arrived, it required the services of policemen to keep the hundreds from crowding into a hall whose standing room even was filled to overflowing.

When Rabbi Zepin was obliged to enter upon his labors elsewhere, Rabbi Max Raisin was called to lead the movement, his salary being guaranteed by the two up-town Reform Congregations and by the Philadelphia Section of the Council of Jewish Women. Under the enthusiasm of a number of the people of this new congregation, and with the aid of the up-town Reform Congregations, the movement has grown, so that to-day its own little Temple, to cost \$10,000, is in course of construction, which is to be dedicated in September, and to be made permanently self-supporting.

Let me cite an extract from a report of the progress of the new building, submitted to me by M. Y. Belber, D. D. S., Chairman of the Building Committee:

"We have succeeded in securing a suitable lot, located at 611-613 Pine St., for which we paid the sum of \$3200. Though small in size, this lot will suffice for the erection of a building which will answer the needs of the Congregation for the next few years to come, until the institution is strong enough to be able to do better. I have had plans and specifications drawn for a building amply suitable for the purpose, which will not exceed the sum of \$7500. A drawing of the front elevation of the Temple is herewith enclosed. There is no doubt as to the necessity of an institution of this kind in this section of the city. Orthodoxy has outgrown its usefulness for the younger generation of the down-town people. . . . The support from the younger and better element of the people of this neighborhood will come in as we proceed with our work. Much praise and many thanks are due to you and to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for their efforts in our behalf. The good seed which you and your associates have sown will bear good fruit in the future for the glory of our race and our faith."

Well may the Conference be proud of this success, and, encouraged by the result achieved, by the new spiritual light and life it

has brought to hundreds of the rising gen-

Recommendation VII. eration of Jewish immigrants, I trust that

Extension of Peoples' you may be moved to vote, at this session, a

Synagogue Move- sum of money, no less than \$500, towards
ment. inaugurating a like movement in whatever

community the need of it has most mani-

fested itself. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations has kindly extended financial aid to the movement proposed by us at our last session. It will be no more than right, more especially as we are in possession of sufficient funds, that we ourselves give the next movement its financial start. Those who have labored in this cause will readily testify that the need of establishing reform services among the rising generation of our Jewish immigrants is most

urgent, that the demand for it rises from within and is not superimposed from without, that, after the start has been given, it becomes a down-town movement, by the down-town people, for the down-town needs, which commands the enthusiastic and even self-sacrificing support of men and women and children who thirst for the spiritual draughts that have been withheld from them all too long for their and our best good.

I wish that I could have finished this message without being obliged to touch upon the painful loss sustained by us during the past year, in the death of the Rev. Dr. Lippman Mayer. It is not for me to dwell upon the many excellent qualities that have endeared the lamented departed to all the members of the Conference. He has told his own story of excellence by his own labors in life. One of the founders of the Conference, a member of it throughout its existence, a faithful attendant upon its meetings, an active participant in its sessions, he was of invaluable help in the up-building of our cause. His devotion to the founder of the Conference was as touching as it was enthusiastic. No disciple could have loved Dr. Wise better than he, could have seconded his every move and effort in the interest of the Hebrew Union College and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, could have strengthened his arm and fought his battles for Reform more faithfully than did Dr. Lippman Mayer, of blessed memory. He possessed to a remarkable degree the trust and friendship of every member of the Conference. Old and young turned to him for guidance, and profited by his counsel. He has well deserved commemoration by the Conference.

I, therefore, recommend that a Page of Sorrow be dedicated to his memory in our next Year Book, and that a copy of the same, fittingly engrossed, be presented to his

Recommendation VIII. family.

Memorial Page to

חכם שמת הכל בקרוביו

Lippman Mayer.

“When a wise man dies all are of his mourning family.”

There is one final matter that I must bring to your attention. It frequently occurs that papers and reports, because of the excel-

lence or importance of their contents or because of the eloquence with which they are presented, awaken great enthusiasm among the members of the Conference, and resolutions are forthwith passed ordering the printing of many thousands of copies of them. When the Conference has adjourned, the Executive Board generally finds that, inasmuch as all papers and reports are published in the Year Book, compliance with the hot-haste resolutions involves a large and needless expenditure and difficulty in disposing of the thousands of copies that have been printed. The result is that the resolutions are either not carried out at all, or that thousands of copies lie undistributed among our publications.

I would therefore recommend that no resolutions, ordering the printing of papers or reports, be passed by the Conference itself, but that they be referred to the Executive

Recommendation IX. Board for consideration, with power to
Printing of Papers publish as many copies as it may deem
and Reports to be necessary.

**referred to Executive
 Board.**

Reaching the end of my message, I am made aware of the end of my office. I beg of you to accept once more my sincere thanks for the honor you have so signally conferred upon me, and to express to you, at the same time, my sincere regret that want of time and lack of ability have prevented my serving you better than I have.

With responsibilities upon me of a large and active congregation, of the Presidency of the National Farm School, of the General Directoryship of the Isaac M. Wise Memorial Fund, the election of me as your President was ill-advised, and the re-election a mistake.

Another year's service has more than confirmed my conviction, expressed to you last year, in considerable detail, of the infinite possibilities of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. But, to accomplish this requires the services of Executive Officers who can give the Conference their undivided time, and whose tenure of office would be long enough to enable them to pass from apprenticeship to mastery. What if the Hebrew Union College were to change its President and Faculty every year or two? What if it had changed its President of the Board of Governors at every Convention?

There ought to be a longer tenure of office for the executive heads of the Conference, and a lesser tenure for the members of the Executive Board. While the other are con-

Recommendation X. constantly changed, I have observed our tendency of re-electing the latter at every session, and as, to quote Thomas Jefferson, "few die and none resign," there is danger of running in a rut, if not a possibility of creating a bureaucracy. Constant change of members of the Executive Board would assure infusion of new life and new thought.

Longer tenure of office for Executive heads, lesser for Executive Board. This parting suggestion may seem gratuitous, but I have been urged to make it by a careful consideration of the best interests of the Conference, and I thank you for your kind indulgence with me. I thank my fellow Officers, more especially the Secretaries, for the good-will they have shown, and for the invaluable aid they have extended. I leave my honored office in the assurance that the Central Conference of American Rabbis is permanently established and that its prosperous future is assured.

C.

[The writer alone is responsible for views expressed in this article.]

I. THE ORIGIN OF THE KADDISH.

That the Kaddish, in its essential form and purport, is a Messianic prayer, is rather generally allowed in our day. And that this is not to be taken in the meaning of an ultimate universal conversion of humanity to Yahwistic Monotheism and co-extensive enduring peace and bliss, but in the particularistic significance of Israel's final redemption and restitution in national-political respects, will at once become plain, even axiomatic, from the following arguments.

The most authentic and conclusive support for this apprehension of the Kaddish prayer is the Scriptural fact, that any hope and petition for God's re-established kingdom, from Joel's י' שכן בציון (ch. IV. 21) and Obadiah's equivalent והיתה לי המלוכה (v. 21), to the Second Isaiah's אמר לציון מלך אלהיך (ch. 52: 7),² had a national-political bearing only. Secondly, the Kaddish shows an indisputable similarity to the Kedushah, the third eulogy of the Tefillah, which is to all intents and purposes a Messianic formula, as will hereafter appear. Thirdly, a supplication kindred to the Kaddish occurs in the Additional Tefillah (Musaph) for the holidays, the form ומפני חטאינו. It is: "Mayest Thou shortly manifest the glory of Thy Kingdom over us." And in what respect is this glory to be displayed? In the manner conformable to the fundamental conception evident from all the prophets who held out the hope of the restoration of Yahweh's Zionite government, as there follows: "and bring back our dispersed from among the nations," etc. Fourthly, there

¹ We firmly adhere to Joel's ancient date.

² This passage may be held as the prototype of the various cognate exultations and utterances in the Psalms celebrating Yahweh's resumed Zionite reign.

has been framed in the Geonic period (from the latter part of the sixth century to 1000 C. E.) the *על הכל* formula, which in its undivided context, as contained in the treatise "Sopherim," (XIV. 12), may properly be called a paraphrastic counterpart of the Kaddish. Its Messianic content and trend are not to be questioned. Fifthly, the Kaddish text produced by Maimoni (and in substance received into the Sephardic rite) has after *וימליך מלכותיה* the additional petition *ויצמח פרקניה ויקרב משיחיה ויפירוק עמיה* "and may He let spring forth His deliverance, bring in shortly His Messiah and redeem His people." A clearer exemplification of the nationally Messianic understanding of the Kaddish in learned medieval Judaism can certainly not be found.

We have to pass over the currently assumed similarity to our Kaddish of the Lord's Prayer, in its two first petitions. Interesting as such parallel of a genuinely Messianic formula of prayer instituted by the author of Christianity must appear, it has definitively to be surrendered.³ Our conclusion set forth at a later point is, that those two petitions of the Lord's Prayer have nothing in common with the Kaddish except the semblance of structure and expression, similar to the formal contact of the Kaddish and Kedushah noted before, and which will be made clear anon.

We have not yet exhausted our arguments for the exclusive national-political intention of the Kaddish prayer. The most conclusive and illustrative one is yet to be brought forth. It is the unquestioned adoption of its initial words from the prophet Ezekiel (ch. 38: 23), whose "particularistic expectation of Israel's future" (so Bertholet) is open to no doubt. This is a most weighty point

³ We have in mind here the original form of the Kaddish, which we hold to have been rather brief. Our entire subsequent discussion turns upon this pivotal presumption. Its extant form, as transmitted from the medieval Babylonian schools, we regard as revised and enlarged towards the end of the Talmudic or about the beginning of the Geonic age. This we endeavor to make probable in the fourth chapter of our forthcoming volume on the Kaddish. By that revision, it has to be admitted, there would appear again a connection with the Lord's Prayer, or rather with the mystical Persian dualism, the conceptions of which are in the present paper alleged as underlying that prayer.

in confirmation of the purport of the Kaddish as nationally Messianic. On it we must dwell at greater length. We will from its exposition develop at the same time our view of the original specific drift of the Kaddish prayer itself. That passage in Ezekiel is: *והתגדלתי והתקדשתי* etc., "Thus will I magnify and sanctify (exalt) myself; and I will be known in the eyes of many nations, and they shall know that I am the Lord." It states the blessed sum of the tremendous Gog conflict which Yahweh will in the "latter days," when Israel will be brought back from the exile and settled once more under a Davidic Messiah (ch. 37), stir up for the object of their final and enduring safety and salvation. The stupendous downfall of that representative of Israel's foes and head of a vast complex of ferocious hordes gathered together by him from the "farthest north" for an onslaught upon Yahweh's people, would once and for all make an end of all warlike invasions of His and Israel's land and all violent attempts upon their peace and prosperity. He would by this ultimate mighty act "magnify and exalt Himself" in the eyes of all the world, that all would know and acknowledge Him, *i. e.* His omnipotence. (Cp. Kraetzschmar, Comm.) This is the real determining aim and end of Yahweh's movement of that fierce Gog struggle. The universal acknowledgment of Yahweh's, Israel's God-King's, all-power would in all the future awe all the pagan nations into a deep regard for His people and deter them from ever attempting any more to injure and inflict mischief upon them.

Now on framing the Kaddish prayer the authors took over from the prophet the expression *והתגדלתי והתקדשתי*, moulding it into a suitable form of Messianic petition. The expression was turned into the third person and the subject, God, rendered by the appellative *שם*, with the epithet *גדול* (= *גדול*) added. The latter was probably immediately suggested by the occurrence of *שמו הגדול* in the closely preceding chapter of Ez. 36: 23, though it is also found elsewhere in his writing, as well as in Jer. 44: 26. The word "great" is joined to "Name," because the latter alone would have here, as not literally addressed, though really meant to be, too bare and distant an appearance. A suppliant's apostrophe in such a paramount concern as the implored Messianic salvation, should be

as perfect and devout as the use of language permits. The appellative **שם** for "God" stamped the phrase according to the then current custom, which the common people also cherished intently, as an easy and direct substitute for a personal invocation. It was consciously felt and understood that the phrase stands in place of **תתגדל ותתקדש**, a mode of petition employed in the third, Messianic, member of the Kedushah formula. It should not be questioned that **שמיא רבא** "His great Name" stands for "His great Being," that is, God Himself.⁴

Our argument leads us to the proposition that the words **תתגדל ותתקדש** adopted from the corresponding verse of the chapter in which the imagery of the notorious futuric Gog struggle is painted (ch. 38: 23), were not put by accident, but with purpose. We mean to say, the choice was not only nominal, but organic. Ezekiel's prediction stood forth to the Kaddish framers not only as a convenient pattern, but as a congenial source; not merely for verbal conformation, but for identical reproduction of sense. The authors of the Kaddish formula were anxious not only to adopt the prophet's language and its spirit, but to go into its very core and appropriate its substance for their purpose in hand. The eschatological forecast of the Gog struggle was mentally transfigured into a Messianic foreshadowing. The figure of Gog of Magog, usually taken to denote the barbarian Scythians, passed from Ezekiel's weird description into the internal vision of the Jews of all after ages. It not only went into their vision, it also crept, and that very early, into their literature. As a most remarkable instance of the kind may be mentioned the Septuagint's conversion of Agag into Gog in Nu. 24: 7, and the violent transformation of the text of Amos VII. 1, **ויהנה לקש אחר גוי המלך** into a supposed reading **ויהנה ילק אחר גוי המלך**, by which the **גוי המלך**, viz.: "the mowing of grass by the king" as his assumed prerogative, is for drastic presentation of tyrannical oppression and unscrupulous

⁴ On the post-Exile usage of the Palestinian Jews to substitute **שם** for the ineffable "Yahweh," compare Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 262; also Hupfeld on Ps. 54:8; 5:12; Delitzsch on Ps. 54:3, and other learned commentators. Gesenius, 'Thesaurus,' explains this **שם** as "God, insofar as He is invoked and worshipped by men."

plundering of the people by contemporary despots altered into גוג המלך "Gog, the king," as though pointing scornfully at the one or other live specimen of such an irresponsible monarch. Gog had become, as is here seen, even to the Jews of Greek-speaking countries already as early as the middle of the third century B. C.,⁵ a representative of hateful despotic government, whichever it may have been that presently kept them in abject thrall or unjust restraint. As the name "Scythians" had already in the earliest times become generally an "elastic collective appellation" (so Orelli in Herzog-Hauck), so was the corresponding Hebrew word Gog-Magog used as an elastic term representative of the foes of Israel. And what is more, Ezekiel's prediction of the ultimate catastrophe of Gog, this typical enemy of Israel, was through all post-Exile times transferred by fervid hoppers of Messianic redemption from the prophet's futuristic cast to the now imminent time. The downfall of Gog meant the overthrow of each oppressive government or administration that happened to trouble and harass the Jewish people, in whatever country and at whatever period, and it was eagerly longed and prayed for.

In the Persian period of Israel's national life (as we believe it probably reflected in Enoch, ch. 56), the Jews would grasp Gog-Magog as symbolizing their Persian overlords. In the Grecian period, Hellas passed under this figure as an appellative of wickedness, as is to be inferred by comparison of vv. 393, 646, 817, of the third Book of the Sibyllines (Terry's Engl. Transl.) with the various rebuking apostrophes addressed to it here and there in this oracular compilation. In the time of the domestic misrule of the degenerate Asmonean princes of the first century B. C., who would alienate the people's affections by revolting tyranny and impiety, these and their callous and corrupt aristocratic clients, the Sadducees, stood out in glaring aspects as Gog-Magog re-incarnate. This can safely be gathered by taking together some parts of 'Enoch' and the Psalms of Solomon, in which those detested "sinners" are held up to intense

⁵ The entire Greek version of the Septuagint is by Böhl, "Forschungen," etc., taken on solid grounds as having been completed already at the middle of the third century B. C.

scorn and execration. And when insolent, brutal, rapacious Rome set foot on the soil of Judea, in 63 B. C., committing great violence, profaning her sanctities and making her tributary; when subsequently the half-Jewish and more pagan Roman vassal, Herod, occupied the usurped throne in Jerusalem, holding in tight grip of enchaining autocracy a downcast and enslaved nation, crushing all aspirations of ingenuous selfhood within his realm, prostituting all that was near and dear and sacred to the pious hearts of the Jewish people with ruthless force, and committing otherwise innumerable horrors of barbarity and profanity, there was certainly once more found personified the ancient Gog of the prophet Ezekiel in this detested ruler, and his speedy overthrow became the object of fervid imploration with agonized Israel. When the Kaddish was recited in those trying times, every Jewish suppliant felt an intense impulse to loose himself momentarily in his mental moods from that chafing and stifling tyrant's grip, and throw himself confidently into the arms of the merciful Father in heaven. More and more, as national misery increased and dismal gloom beset the outlook into the future, the "days of Gog and Magog" were accentuated as a sort of political-religious precept or dogma,⁹ and ranged side by side with "the days of the Messiah," the settled solacing hope of old that attended Israel constantly in all the dreary march of time.

To the protracted suffering from violent oppression, both domestic and foreign, in the first century B. C., there is, we propose, to be assigned the impulse of framing the Kaddish. If we put down its coinage about the middle of that century, or a decade or two above this date, we will not go much amiss.

The formula was aimed, in spiritual accordance with Ezekiel's prediction of the struggle of Gog and his fatal overthrow, at the present wicked, tyrannical government under which the people were groaning. In ardent strains its speedy downfall was, by implication, prayed for by using the predictive words of the prophet of the Exile used at the beginning of v. 23, ch. 38, and formulated thus: "Mayest Thou (implored as Great Name) shortly show Thyself (once again)

⁹ Comp. Volz, 'Jewish Eschatology' (German), p. 175.

great and exalted, and bring in Thy kingdom.”⁷ This kingdom was, of course, the Messianic, with the Davidic regent exercising the rights and duties of fair and firm government under God.

Another observation is yet in place. If from about the time of the Census and the incorporation of Judea as a Roman province (in the year 6 B. C.), when the fortune of her people began to be ever harder and more insufferable, the sharp edge of the yithgaddal weyithkaddash-petition with its latent imprecatory allusion to the symbolic Gog-Magog will have been entirely turned at Rome, the stereotyped מלכות זרין or מלכות הרשעה “wicked government,” and the then representative of that fierce barbarian of prophetic vision, this is no indication that in the earlier period, when the Kaddish prayer came into existence, the images of the vile and fiendish Asmonean rulers and Sadducean “sinners,” and, subsequently, those of the detested Herodians, had not vividly floated before the minds of the people uttering that petition. The ungodly domestic authorities were certainly as promptly branded with the name “wicked government” as the later Roman, and the feelings of the people outraged by their injustice and impiety will have sought vent in all manner of imprecation, direct or implied.

Cast a glance at the Psalms of Solomon, or the chronologically prior chapters of ‘Enoch,’ 92-105, in which the pernicious “rulers and sinners” receive the most scathing condemnation and are even stigmatized as worse than the aliens (Romans), and then judge whether the supplication יהגדלי ויתקדש was in its character of a Gog-like expectation not equally, if not more, directed against domestic tyrants as against foreign oppressors, and the advent of the Messianic kingdom invoked as a final release from that terrible yoke as much

⁷ בעלמא may in this original form have already been added after רבא ; see on this later. But רי ברא כרעותיה is certainly the outcome of the Babylonian revision of the Kaddish, brought about under the dominance of morbid mysticism.

⁸ This phrase entered even the daily Tefillah in the so-called Zedimstrophe of the Eighteen-Petitions, and became eventually the burden of execration habitually pointed at odious Rome. The clause ומלכות זרין מהרה תעקר was yet contained in this maledictory strophe in the farther part of the sixteenth century. Comp. Graetz, Monatsschrift, 1871, VIII.

as, if not more than, from the subsequent Roman! Was strange (וְרָ) Rome ever more detested than the estranging native despots and the unscrupulous, profligate Sadducean functionaries and domineering men of wealth? We cannot bring ourselves to entertain such a view. Our insight into the respective sources illustrating the conditions and moods of the Pharisaic party and the multitude guided by it, precludes it. Let it be said according to true fact: It was never Rome as such that had excited the hateful feelings and maledictory retorts of the suffering Judeans, but unworthy and barbarous Rome; not Roman humanity, but her profane, abusive, exacting authorities. And it was the prompt destruction of these by supernatural intercession and the co-operation of a vigorous and valiant Davidic Messiah,^{*} and not the Roman people collectively, that was held foremost in mind and soul when the *תְּנִיחָה וְתַקְרָה*-formula was publicly recited, or when otherwise the "wicked government" was pointedly arraigned in the course of prayer or homiletic outpour of dismay and revulsion of spirit cherished against it. All history testifies: For just government Israel had always and only blessings; for friendly and favorable government, genuine good-will and love.

Is our construction of the original import of the Kaddish formula in its organic substance too hazardous? Is it perhaps rather susceptible of an allegorizing interpretation into a prayer for the approach of monotheistic universalism? The definite conclusion after careful inquiry will certainly with all unbiased theologians be in favor of our position, that a suddenly eschatological end was held in view at the process of the framing of the Kaddish, and this end accorded spiritually with the outlook presented by Ezekiel in his picture of the ultimate Gog struggle.

And this sense was persistently assigned to it by leading men of the Middle Ages. It required but a sleight of hand to turn Gog into Agag to get out Amalek, the representative arch-fiend of Israel, against whom the final war of vengeance and destruction would be

* That the Messiah is the hero accomplishing the final ruin of Esau's (Rome's) world-power, and that this catastrophe was held identical with the inauguration of the "Kingdom of Heaven," is expressly represented in the Midrash Rabbah, Debarhim, on Dt. II. 3.

waged at the time of the "ultimate deliverance." And as Amalek came of the stock of Esau, and the latter name (or Edom) was in old Rabbinism as well as in some apocalyptic writings readily applied to Rome, a combination was effected by which Ezekiel's Gog eschatology could be turned to account as holding forth through the time of that hostile world-power and its successors, and pointing promisingly to the Messianic release from either by a prodigious rout and ruin similar to that of the prophet's imaginative foe of Israel. "The Kaddish has been framed with the prospect to the (eschatological) future"—this is the sentiment of the Gaon Hai,¹⁰ with whom concur Abudarham,¹¹ Asheri in Tur¹² and his commentator, Joseph Caro. And they all refer the initial words יתגדל ויהקדש, which form its organic motive, to their type and source given in connection with Ezekiel's Gog struggle, which, again, passed as indicative of the catastrophic issue of the Messianic liberation of Israel at God's set time.¹³ This time of God's prodigious "self-magnification and exaltation" was invoked to be hastened in the initial, essential part of the Kaddish.¹⁴

II. THE KADDISH AND THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Before we proceed to estimate the Kedushah in its character of a fundamentally Messianic formula, we will treat the supposed connection of the Kaddish and the Lord's Prayer. We anticipate summarily our standpoint that Jesus, in propounding his own formula of prayer, had no connecting reference—though possibly a replacing one—to the Kaddish, but to the Qēdushah. We can, accordingly,

¹⁰ Quoted in Beth Joseph, Orach Chayim, ch. 56.

¹¹ Prague ed., p. 21.

¹² Orach Chayim, loc. cit.

¹³ Comp. Tanchuma 'Debharim': כשיגיע זמן אני אכלה את אדום . . . באותה שעה וזהה ל' הכליזה

¹⁴ For the same eschatological Gog-Amalek-Esau reference of the initial Kaddish phrase as maintained by the foregoing expositors, see Abr. Levisohn's "Sepher Mekore Minhagim," ch. 17. He cites also the concurrent notion, mystically fashioned, in Machzor Vitry (adduced in Tos. Berach, f. 3), and the Zohar.

not speak of any real contact between the Jewish and Christian Messianic formulas, except the leading thought of joining an expression of "holiness" of God to the petition for the advent of His "kingdom," and that the "holiness" clause is only introductory and subsidiary to that of the "kingdom," the latter being the intrinsic object and very momentum of the prayer.

Ever since the appearance of Oscar Holtzman's 'Life of Jesus,' we inclined strongly to his view that Jesus, in composing the noted prayer, held before his mind and adapted to his Messianic requirement the exordium of the Kedushah: *נִקְדַּשׁ אֵת שְׁמֶךָ בָּעוֹלָם כְּשֶׁם שְׁמֶךָ בַּשָּׁמַיִם* "Let us hallow Thy name in the world as the same is hallowed in the high heaven." But we staggered at the third clause closing the Messianic triplet of petitions, "Thy will be done in earth, as it is heaven." There is apparently no equivalent for it in the Kedushah. Now that author who adheres to Kamphausen's opinion that Luke's text in which this third clause is omitted is the authentic one, is not troubled by this objection. Different it is when the genuineness of Matthew's text is upheld, which is indeed done by the great majority of gospel commentators and other learned writers treating this subject. As there are the best reasons for coinciding in this judgment, there meets us, in following Holtzmann's proposition, a decided difficulty. Can it be overcome? Upon searching carefully a satisfactory and consistent solution occurred to us in the line of argument put forth by J. Weiss, in "Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes." This critical writer aims ingeniously to make the third member of the Kingdom prayer of Jesus agree internally with the context, by pointing out a leading Parsi theory concealed in it. In producing the Avesta term *Khshathra Vairya*, "The Desirable Kingdom," he observes: "The 'Kingdom' of the Avesta has the same pregnant significance as in the Jewish and Christian eschatology" (p. 33). He argues: "The Kingdom of God is that state of things at which He actually assumes and exercises dominion in the fullest sense of the word." This he alleges by way of entering into Lehmann's definition of *Khshathra Vairya* as the "kingdom in which God's will dominates absolutely; it is the blessedness yearned for, the perfection which is the goal of every endeavor." Weiss ranges with this exposition of the 'Kingdom' in Parsism the to

him cognate 'Kingdom of God' as Jesus understood it, and interprets the third clause of his Messianic prayer to imply the indication, that "God's dominion will be accomplished then, when He of His own accord asserts His will ultimately. Then, too, His will comes to be the only norm for all men." He lays down the proposition that at the base of that third clause of Jesus' prayer there lay the Parsi notion, that the dominion of the Evil one, Ahriman-Satan, must be destroyed before the kingdom of the good God can appear. The Evil one is the same "poneros" that has given so much annoyance to expositors of the Lord's Prayer in dealing with its sixth (or seventh) clause. That that Greek word is here meant as a personality admits of no doubt. For it there is, too, a striking parallel in Rabbi Judah, the patriarch's, daily concluding prayer, in which God is solicited to guard not only from the "evil impulse," but from "Satan, the destroyer" (B. Berach. f. 16).

It is interesting to note here yet a most singular concession of a notable modern N. T. scholar, Zahn. He decides that "evil" and not "the Evil one" is to be read in the last petition of the Lord's Prayer. Yet in the face of this gratuitous attenuation he singularly discovers in the third clause, the one under our consideration, an allusion to Satan. He even refers for illustration of this hypothesis to Rev. XI. 15, 17; XII. 10, where the whole native Christian-Messianic theory is set forth. This is, that the appearance of the divine Messiah is co-extensive with the casting down and out from heaven of the "old serpent, called the Devil and Satan," and that after this accomplishment "the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ" (thought as unity) will set in. Zahn expounds accordingly the third petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy will be done as in heaven so on earth," to mean, that "all opposition and resistance to God's will should cease, as there is none such in heaven, the domain of God and His angels." We may indulge the erudite commentator with this ethicizing reduction of sense, as long as he conceded the main point of Jesus' reference to Satan in the noted third clause of his prayer. In this consideration we may, too, leniently pass over his inaccuracy, that there is no strife in heaven. This is refuted by that very author of 'Revelation' who advances at another point of the same 12th chapter, "and there was war in

heaven." It is also invalidated by the author of the book of Job in the saying "he maketh peace in his high places" (ch. 25: 2), which certainly betrays the notion that even the celestials at times carry on strife calling for the mediation of the Supreme Umpire.

On the whole, this N. T. authority of our time may be regarded as falling in with Weiss's view. In this company one finds new encouragement in insisting that in the sphere of the Lord's Prayer there dominates the spirit of apocalyptic Messiahism, in which there is accomplished (as e. g. in 'Enoch') a direct and decided transformation of the temporal Messiah, whose expected dominance was in the nomenclature of the bulk of the Jewish people represented under the connotation "Kingdom of Heaven" or "of God," to the transcendent other-worldly Messiah whose chief function would be to execute the last judgment and, in unity with God, to destroy finally the Evil one and his power in the world. The last clause of the triplet in the Lord's Prayer, "Thy will be done as in heaven so on earth," would, according to this mystical eschatological conception, occupy a proper and congruous place in the entire context and round it off very agreeably. The petition bearing the Parsi-like sense of fundamental Christianity would simply be an indirect rendering of the idea inherent in the second clause. With the crushing and annihilation by the would-be supernatural Messiah of the Evil one lordling it over the present world or æon, the will of God can once more be done without check and hindrance in heaven and on earth.

While ready to follow in the way pointed by Weiss and Zahn, we met in the course of our study on the present subject with a remarkable notice in a recent number of the "Zeitschrift für neuest. Wissenschaft," which at once arrested our attention as available for a more suitable interpretation of the meaning and position of the third clause of the Lord's Prayer, than had so far been offered to the inquirer. Pondering over it we arrived at the conclusion that by it a new, clear light is thrown not only upon this question, but upon other kindred problematic points of Christian and Jewish liturgy as well.

That notice is by Nestle, the eminent German textual critic and editor of the New Testament. He observes in that place, that by a resolution of the English Parliament passed in 1903, it was appointed that the ordinary punctuation in the third petition of the Lord's

Prayer should be changed and the comma of the sentence removed from "on earth" and put after "Thy will be done." By this technical shift there would be achieved the indication that the words "on earth as (it is) in heaven" revert also to the two preceding clauses as their burden, and are to be taken mentally, at the saying of that prayer, with either of them.

Nestle cites at the same time Westcott-Hort who, in their "Introduction to the N. T." stand up for this alteration.¹⁸ Then he adds that he had himself, in his own edition of the N. T., fathered this new division of the third sentence of the Lord's Prayer, marking it by a stich. To this, he brings forward, he had been prompted on encountering in the so-called "Opus Imperfectum" an old gospel commentary, which directs to attach verbally the phrase 'sicut in coelo et in terra,' "as in heaven, and on earth," to each of the three clauses. Nestle commends the careful consideration of this comment, which he moreover surmises has a Jewish-Christian for author.

Referring to this most interesting information of Nestle's, we presume to advance upon that commentator's observations by suggesting that he not only rendered the usage of his own time, but unconsciously presented an early Christian institution going back to Jesus himself. It is well conceivable that Jesus had from the first appointed to combine the expression "as in heaven so on earth" with each of the first three clauses of his prayer newly given forth for the use of his disciples. On this supposition we further hold it most probable that for formulating the first clause, "Hallowed be thy name," expanded¹⁹ by that expression, Jesus had taken over from the synagogue liturgy, for adaptation to his own Messianic purpose, the phraseology of the exordium of the old-established Kedushah: "Let us hallow Thy

¹⁸ They say: "We have been especially glad to mark the essentially metrical structure of the Lord's Prayer in St. Matthew's Gospel, with its innovation, its first triplet of single clauses with one common burden, expressed after the third but implied after all," etc.

¹⁹ On the similar expansion, according to that old gospel commentator, of the second clause of the Lord's prayer, we need not dwell. We are not here directly concerned in it. Briefly it may be observed that it is readily explainable along the line of the above-presented hypothesis of Weiss. It would then substantially accord in sense with the third, as already said above.

name in the world as the same is hallowed in high heaven." For the public worship of his community he may have retained this exordium entire, with the attached angelic hymn of praise of Isa. VI. 3, the Trisagion. (We rest this conjecture on the fact that the Christian Church has for many centuries preserved the Trisagion as an integral part of its own worship. While the "three times holy" has in Christianity eventually been re-shaped and filled out with new content," yet the mere continuation of the skeleton frame of this Jewish liturgical hymn within the church lends strong countenance to the supposition that it, together with the preceding exordium, carried with it an indigenous, ancient sanction, and one referrible to Jesus himself.) Upon this vow and celebration of God's "holiness" as introduction, there followed with Jesus, as it did in the synagogal Kedushah, the invocation of the "Kingdom," the central point and objective of the whole Messianic formula of prayer.

For private devotion, however, at which not even in orthodox Judaism the exordial form "nekaddesh" with the connected Trisagion was permitted to be said," Jesus, we incline to think, arranged and ordained the briefer formula produced in Matt. ch. VI. Apart from this we are led to infer, further, from the relation of that old commentary, that Jesus developed from the second part of the exordial sentence—כַּשֵּׁם שֶׁמִּקְדִּישִׁים אוֹתוֹ בְּשֵׁמִי מְרוֹם—*a contracted phrase, in Aramaic about, כְּכֵא רַבְשֵׁמִי מְרוֹמָא* "as in heaven" (without the "it is"), which was to be joined not only to the first clause, that of "holiness," to which it was comparatively, in view of the same combination found in the proem of the Jewish Kedushah, connate, but to the two subsequent clauses of his Messianic prayer as well.

Jesus, then, we are induced to derive as a main theory from the indication of that old gospel comment, took the traditional Kedushah as pattern and best fitting material for the construction of his own new Messianic formula of solicitation. And this shuts out at once all speculation on its connection with the Kaddish. There is none such, nor any dependence of the one upon the other. All the points of contact between those Messianic formulas are only outward and

¹⁷ It is: "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us."

¹⁸ The Rabbinical maxim was, *אין דבר שבקדושה פחות מעשרה*

apparent, not internal and real. Jesus, we assert, did merely the same as we take it for certain that the anterior Jewish authorities had done when they were about to frame the Kaddish. They had recourse to the existent Kedushah for their model, and so did he; only that either put their own meaning on the phraseology adopted: the Pharisaic-Rabbinical ritualists gave it a national-political bearing, Jesus a mystically spiritual one.

But there is yet more illustration to be gathered from that old gospel commentary. It also enables us to account for the appearance of **בְּעֹלָם** in the initial sentence of the Kaddish—if indeed it was contained in the original Kaddish form (with which alone we deal in the present disquisition), and was not also inserted at the later Babylonian revision along with the indubitably cabbalistic (Gnostic) expression **רִי בְּרָא כְּרִיעוּתָהּ**. By the same ray of light it sheds upon the question of the respective phraseology in the Lord's Prayer, viz.: that it bears the distinctive mark of a copy from the exordium of the Kedushah, we readily recognize the similar motive of the ancient Jewish authorities conforming the initial clause of the Kaddish to the same model. There was a kindred evolution in the formation of either of those two Messianic prayers: the common model was the Kedushah. Now while **בְּעֹלָם** was proper to the organic antithesis in the exordial sentence of the latter, **בְּעֹלָם** put in the initial phrase of the Kaddish would seem entirely inessential, even superfluous. Yet considering the deep, reverent estimation in which the Kedushah, upon which that phrase is also modelled, was held, we can conceive without difficulty that out of the same pious regard the Aramaized word for **בְּעֹלָם** was in the act of borrowing from the archetype carried along. Once placed there it will even have been found to harmonize well with the immediate context, however dispensable it was in its position, for the internal sense of the phrase is, as clearly set forth above, the invocation of the catastrophic "magnification and exaltation" of God in the world.

Lastly, that old commentary renders us the important service, though in an indirect manner, of helping us to fix definitely the authentic, original form of the exordium of the Kedushah as it was in Jesus' time and, unquestionably, also in all previous times since the

composition of this third eulogy of the Tefillah. For it may be said without fear of contradiction, that this eulogy had anciently but one uniform type for all the devotions of the day and the year. By that external means now fortunately revealed to us, the view obtains strong confirmation that the form of that exordium was invariably from the beginning *נקדש את שמך*, etc., and not *נקדשך*, etc. The latter type, at any rate with the intersection of the Kedushah by *אני יהוה אלהיכם*,¹⁹ *שמע ישראל*, etc., and *אני יהוה אלהיכם*,²⁰ is evidently a late scholastic innovation.

III. THE KEDUSHAH A MESSIANIC EULOGY.

Now to the Kedushah, of which it was above asserted that it was the source of supply and immediate pattern for the Kaddish and the Lord's prayer alike. That the import of the Kedushah is essentially Messianic must not be ignored any farther. This point should once for all be generally recognized. It is about time that this third benediction of the Tefillah be lifted out of the mysterious haze into which a strangely nurtured awe has transported it, and brought out into the clear light of rational estimate. It is time to realize that from the first, that is, from the time of the framing of the Tefillah as a liturgical order, its fundamental intent was, that every Israelite should at public worship summon fervor of soul enough to equal, if not rival, the celestial beings in giving forth the highest praise of the Deity represented in the hymnic passages of Isa. VI. 3 and Ez. III. 12,²¹ introductory to the chief object of the formula, the petition for the near advent of the theocratic Messianic reign. The latter was its pith and leading motive, the precious gem of its entire verbal setting, towards which the whole antecedent effusion strained. The resolution to sanctify God (*נקדש*, etc.), with the twofold Sanctus

¹⁹ S. Baer, in "Seder Abodath Israel," points out that this intersection is traceable to an exegetical sport occurring in "Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer" ch. IV.

²⁰ This second Sanctus, taken from Ezekiel's theophany, may only have been added for convenience sake, to make up with the "Kingdom" verse, Ps. 146: 10, a solid ternary, so potent in the old mystical estimate of the Jewish people as well as that of other ancient nations.

following, should prove the most proper and effective medium at drawing near to God with the supreme solicitation of Israel, that He may let appear at last His Messianic reign. For the finer and more select the words and form of God's praise, the more confident could the suppliants feel of touching His heart that He may vouchsafe that consummate act of grace. The combination of קדושה "sanctification," and מלכות "Messianic theocracy," was a stereotyped scheme in liturgical compositions of the kind. It recurs in the so-called "Kiddusha desidra" (the forms וְכָא לַצִּיָּין and, for Sabbath nights וְאֵתָה קְרוֹשׁ) and the Kedushah of the theosophically dressed יוֹצֵר,²¹ and was, no doubt with set purpose accordant with traditional and current Jewish notions, employed also in the Lord's prayer.

The general principle of anteceding one's petition with suitable praise of God is very interestingly and instructively set forth in Siphre §345. It may even be taken as foreshadowed already in the Psalms.²² Yet to the sequence of "sanctification" and the petition for the "Kingdom" there was evidently assigned a charm and force of its own. By it the highest possible praise of God, His celebration as holy, was commensurated with the highest need of Israel, the final liberation from the yoke of foreign dependence and their own gloriously restored government in the hands of the divinely succored Messiah. The one corresponded to the other in surpassing merit and excellence.

The model for this sequence was probably suggested from the popular prophet of Redemption, the Second Isaiah, in such sentences as, mainly, ch. 47: 4, and 41: 14; 43: 3, 14; 48: 17; 54: 8. Of particular influence may also have been ch. 29: 23. This verse seems to have been prominently before the minds of the framers of the Kedushah, as it appears to have caused the juxtaposition of this to the fourth eulogy of the Tefillah for the local succession to it of וִידְעוּ תִּנִּי רִיחַ בִּינָה, *ibid.*, v. 24.

²¹ The sentence אֱמֹר חֲדָשׁ, etc., is no doubt ancient and genuine, no matter that its appropriateness was on peculiar grounds contested by some medieval theologians.

²² See Hupfeld on Ps. 9.

The Messianic character of the formula of the Kedushah allows of no question. In this respect it ranges fitly with the two previous eulogies. The first is a supplication for the coming of a Messianic "redeemer." The second is the avowal of Resurrection, doctrinally associated with the belief in the Messiah, which latter has even been distinctly noticed again here in the words ²² *ורב להושיע* (from Isa. 63:1), and *ומצמיה ישועה* (formed after Isa. 52:7). Nay it may safely be said that as a Messianic eulogy the Kedushah suits well with almost the whole order of the Eighteen-Petitions, as all of them but two ²³ can conveniently be brought under the comprehensive category of eschatological, or redemptive-restorative.²⁴

It bears the salient Messianic stamp in the petition of the "Kingdom" member, *וממקמן מלכנו תופיע*, etc., which in its substantial tenor is certainly ancient. It was obviously inspired by Ps. 50:2, "Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined." Although the "shining" had there all but a Messianic bearing, yet the expression was eagerly seized and endowed with such a turn. From the established use in the Kedushah, we surmise, the "shining" of God in the Messianic "dominion" came to be broadly adopted as a brilliant reflection of the quickening light of Israel's central hope. It meets us frequently in exegetical and homiletic expositions of old Rabbinical lore.²⁵

²² Comp. also the invocation *והושיענו*, etc., in the Hashkibhenu eulogy.

²³ Those of "Zedim" and "Tsadikim."

²⁴ This matter we consider elsewhere at large.

²⁵ Comp. Siphre, loc. cit.; Midrash Rabbah on Dt. II, 3; Pesikta, f. 187.

D.

[The writer alone is responsible for views expressed in this article.]

RASHI, HIS LIFE AND HIS WORK.

(Read before the C. C. A. R. at Cleveland, O., July 5, 1905.)

BY MAX SCHLOESSINGER.

The year 1040 is an important milestone in Jewish history. It marks the close of the Babylonian academies, and is the year in which Rashi was born. Unnoticed and without leaving a void in history the Babylonian Gaonate had passed away. Taking, as it were, official notice of geographical and cultural changes which had occurred in Israel within the last two or three centuries—the Gaonate had really been dead for about a full century before it actually came to an end. Following in the wake of the conquering Islamic-Arabic culture, the Jews had settled in Egypt, North Africa, and Spain in great numbers. At the same time there appeared new Jewish communities and centers of culture in Christian Italy, France, and Germany. Thus the center of gravity for the economic and intellectual life of Jewry had gradually shifted to the West.

The life and intellectual activity of the Jews were conditioned by their relation to the surrounding civilization. In Mohammedan Spain, where from the first the Jews had eagerly accepted the culture of the Arabs together with the Arabic language which they spoke and wrote, they cultivated poetry and philosophy, natural science and philology, and learned to apply to the treatment of their own national literature, not only the positive facts which they had acquired from their Arabic teachers, but also their scientific method and system. In the Christian countries of Northern France, Germany, and Italy, on the other hand, where there were no schools

of superior teachers, but at most the service of narrow-minded priests to attend, the Jews confined themselves exclusively to the study of their own literature, mainly of the Bible and the Talmud.

This limitation, however, was to prove their strength. They were original in their exegesis of Bible and Talmud, for the very reason that they had no models. They approached both of these subjects with impartiality, inasmuch as they were not under the necessity of harmonizing their traditional beliefs with a foreign Arabic-Aristotelian philosophy, as were their Spanish co-religionists. They were free to give their undivided energy and love to the study of Bible and Talmud, while their Spanish brethren were forced to occupy themselves with the formulation of the content of Judaism in bulky codes of law or concise statements of creed, in order to fight the heretical tendencies in their own midst, fostered, as these were, by the surrounding culture which was equal or even superior to their own. Rashi, drawing his nurture from this atmosphere of originality, impartiality, and full devotion which prevailed among the Jews of Northern France, brought these qualities to perfection in his commentaries on Bible and Talmud.

August 1, 1905, marks the eight hundredth anniversary of Rashi's death. With universal love, reverence, and gratitude, the Jews over the entire globe have remembered this teacher by whose writings they are dominated even to-day more than by those of any other mediæval author. In the following brief account of the life and work of Rashi, an attempt has been made to place before the reader the most important facts, critically sifted, as they are at present available.

Legend took hold of the man whose works soon after his death became the property of the entire Jewish people, and created in their imagination a Rashi according to their own ideals and considerably different from the historical Rashi. The people imagined that a man of Rashi's literary importance must have traveled far and wide; must have understood numerous languages and have mastered many branches of knowledge, including, of course, Cabbalah; must have wrought miracles, and must have had his romance. According to

popular imagination, Godfrey, Duke of Bouillon and Lorraine, inquired of Rashi regarding the outcome of the Crusade, and Maimonides (who lived a century later) is said to have met Rashi in Jerusalem. Toward the end of his life Rashi is reported to have traveled to Barcelona, in order to make the acquaintance of his future companion in Paradise. Thus Rashi lived in the hearts of the Jewish people as a legendary prince, until Zunz, in 1822, penetrated the mystery and established the historical Rashi, who, to us moderns, is closer and more intelligible. There was surely no reason for Rashi to fear the light of historical truth; on the contrary, he has gained in importance since Zunz.¹ in 1822, gave us a scientific appreciation of his life and work.

BIOGRAPHY.

Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac, generally known as Rashi, was born in Troyes, the capital of the old French county of Champagne (now the capital of the Department of the Aube), in the year 1040. The Jewish community of Troyes was small, but very old, and not without importance. The Jews of Troyes were land-owners and vine-cultivators.²

Rashi came of a learned family. His father, Rabbi Isaac,³ and his maternal uncle, Rabbi Simeon ha-Zaken, a disciple of Rabbenu Gershom,⁴ were Talmudic scholars. His teacher, Isaac ben Judah, of Mayence, was related to him.⁵ We have no knowledge of

¹ "Salomon b. Isaac, genannt Raschi," in "Zeitschrift für die Wiss. des Judenthums," 1822, p. 277 et seq. Hebrew translation with notes by S. Bloch (Lemberg, 1840), under the title, תולדות רבינו שלמה יצחקי. For the sake of brevity, Zunz's work on this subject will be referred to by the name, "Biographie."

² Gross, "Gallia Judaica," p. 225.

³ Rashi on 'Abodah Zarah, 75 a.

⁴ Rashi on Sabbat, 85 b.

⁵ Goldberg, חסם טשמונים, No. 14; Epstein, "Der Gerschom Meor ha-Golah zugeschriebene Talmud-Commentar," in Steinschneider's "Festschrift," p. 137, note 1.

Rashi's "Lehrjahre" at his home in Troyes. Spurred on by the desire for learning, he went to Worms and Mayence, those ancient seats of Jewish science on the Rhine, where some of his French countrymen were active as teachers. In Worms he studied Bible and Talmud⁸ with Jacob ben Jakar, and upon the death of the latter, with his successor, Isaac ha-Levi, whose blind belief in the authority of his teacher was commented upon by his contemporaries.⁷ Rashi seems also to have studied various Talmudic tractates with some of his fellow-students, as for instance Solomon ben Simson.⁹

He was soon drawn to the neighboring town of Mayence, which had secured the foremost teachers of France and Germany for its schools. In Mayence there had existed from the tenth century an intellectual activity, such as was to be found in no other city.⁶ How greatly must Rashi have been attracted and inspired by this atmosphere!

When he came to Mayence, Rabbenu Gershom, the deeply learned "Light of the Exile," who had exercised so strong an influence upon the practical life of mediæval Jewry, had been dead for half a century.¹⁰ The entire community, however, and especially Gershom's numerous disciples, among whom were Judah ha-Kohen, Eliezer ben Isaac the Great, and many others, still rested under the magic spell of his weighty learning and strong character. It is not to be wondered at, then, that Rashi was influenced by the commentary written by Rabbenu Gershom himself, or by some of his school, more than by any other commentary.

In Mayence, Rashi continued his studies with Isaac ben Judah, who (after the death of Eliezer the Great) had become head of the

⁸ Rashi on Pesahim, p. 111 a.

⁷ "Pardes," ed. Warsaw, 1870, No. 135; Weiss, "Bet Talmud," Vol. II, p. 38.

⁹ Epstein, "Schemja, der Schüler u. Sekretär Raschi's," in Frankel's "Monatsschrift," 1897, p. 257.

¹⁰ Epstein, in Steinschneider's "Festschrift," p. 135.

¹¹ Rabbenu Gershom d. 1028; not 1040, according to the misleading information in "Shalshet ha-Kabbalah," ed. Venice, p. 429; Gross, l. c., p. 299.

school of Rabbenu Gershom. He also came in contact with Talmudic scholars, such as Meir ben Abraham ha-Kohen,¹¹ Nathan and Menahem ben Makir, Samuel and David ben Samuel ha-Levi.¹²

Rashi never studied in Speyer,¹³ which we are accustomed to mention in connection with Worms and Mayence, when speaking of the mediæval history of the Jews of the Rhine. The Jewish community of Speyer, as Epstein has proved,¹⁴ was founded not before 1084 by emigrants from Mayence, at a period, therefore, when Rashi's studies and "Wanderjahre" had been completed.

The true Talmud student "eats bread with salt, drinks water by measure, sleeps on the ground, leads a life of hardship and—studies!"—for which regimen the *Pirke Abot* promise him happiness in this world and in the next. Rashi seems often to have lacked the necessary means, in order to live even according to this moderate prescription. He relates himself, in a truly pathetic way, how, as a married student, he suffered for want of clothing and food.¹⁵

At the end of his student life which, let us hope, was also the end of his hardships, Rashi returned to his birthplace, Troyes, whence he probably never again departed. Here he established the school in which he taught Bible¹⁶ and Talmud.¹⁷ Through his activity Troyes was made the center of Jewish learning in France for more than a century.¹⁸ Besides holding the office of teacher and head of the school, he served as judge and rabbi, probably to the end of his life. We do not know in what manner he earned a livelihood in Troyes. It is not specifically stated in the sources that he received

¹¹ Epstein, "Jüdische Alterthümer in Speyer," in "Monatsschrift," 1897, p. 38.

¹² Epstein, l. c., p. 136.

¹³ I do not know on what authority Bacher bases his contention to the contrary; see his "Raschi und Maimoni" in "Monatsschrift," 1905 (XLIX), p. 3.

¹⁴ Epstein, l. c.

¹⁵ Goldberg, l. c., No. 17, p. 2.

¹⁶ See Epstein, "Schemaja," in "Monatsschrift," 1897, p. 260.

¹⁷ Zunz, "Biographie," p. 324.

¹⁸ Gross, l. c., p. 226.

no compensation for the various offices he held, as in those "ideal times" this was a matter so customary as to evoke no comment.

Rashi, who had married while yet a student, had three daughters, but no son. He was fortunate, however, in having learned sons-in-law, and still more learned grandsons. One daughter, Miriam,¹⁸ married a pupil of Rashi, Judah ben Nathan, the Tosafist; his second daughter, Jochebed, the learned Meir ben Samuel of Rame-rupt, whose sons were Samuel ben Meir (RaSHBaM), Isaac ben Meir (RIBaM), Jacob ben Meir (Rabbenu Tam), and the exegete and grammarian Solomon ben Meir,¹⁹ who until recently has been totally eclipsed by his more famous brothers.

The sufferings which the first Crusade, in 1096, brought to the Jews of the Rhine valley, cast a dark shadow upon the soul of Rashi, as may be seen from the tone of his *Selihot*²⁰ and from a single allusion in his commentary on Isaiah LIII, 9.²¹ In general, however, his life in Troyes seems to have been peaceful and free from trouble, as is evidenced by the uniform thoroughness and clearness of all his works, and still further, by the constant revisions to which he subjected his commentaries. In this respect he may especially be contrasted with his restless Spanish rival, Abraham ibn Ezra.

In his later life he seems to have suffered much from illness.²² His disciples then acted as his secretaries²³ in order to answer the numerous halakic questions addressed to him from all quarters. In

¹⁸ See D. Rosin, "R. Samuel ben Meir als Schriffterklärer," Breslau, 1880, p. 3.

¹⁹ Berliner, "Beiträge zur Gesch. der Raschi-Commentare," Berlin, 1901-1902, pp. 16, 46, note 30; "Machsor Vitry" ed. S. Hurwitz, Berlin, 1893, p. 243, No. 275; "Einleitung und Register zu Machsor Vitry," Berlin, 1896-7, p. 60, ad loc. and p. 176, ad loc.; Gross, "Gallia Judaica," p. 162.

²⁰ Zunz, "Literatur-Geschichte der synagogalen Poesie," p. 252.

²¹ Berliner, "Beiträge," p. 53.

²² Müller, *Réponses faites par de célèbres rabbins Français et Lorrains du XI^e et XII^e siècle*, Vienne, 1881, p. XXVIII, and p. 9.

²³ Müller, *ib.*, No. 15 and the parallel passage in "Pardes," No. 242; for the correct reading of the beginning see Berliner in "Monatsschrift," XXI, p. 288.

Ezra²⁷; it was often contradicted by Nahmanides²⁸; it was not universalistic enough for Isaac Abrabanel,²⁹ and was not infrequently attacked even by later authors.

(On the other hand, the commentary on the Talmud stands unique in all Jewish literature as a work which never met with hostile criticism. It always received unstinted admiration, and found rapid and universal recognition. Darmesteter says: "The commentary on the Talmud became The Commentary *par excellence*, the 'Kon-tros.'"³⁰ It was copied by tractates; copies were scattered in France, Italy, Germany, and even in the Orient. Eighty years after Rashi's death, a scribe copied his commentary on the tractate Baba Mezia for the Resh Galuta, David of Mosul. After the invention of printing,³¹ it accompanied all editions of the Talmud text, which would be unintelligible without it, and this work, which caused all earlier attempts to be forgotten, could not, in its turn, be superseded by any later commentary."

²⁷ Zunz, "Biographie," p. 339; Weiss, "Bet Talmud" II, p. 73; comp. also Ibn Ezra's שפה ברורה ed. Fürth, p. 5.

²⁸ Weiss, l. c.; Abraham Hayyim Viterbo (an Italian Rabbi) in his philosophical treatise "Emunat Hakamim" (written in 1695), charges that in his criticism of the Rashi commentary Nahmanides is guilty of blind and fanatic zeal, that Nahmanides, in fact, utterly failed to understand what Rashi had written. The passage reads: אכל הרמב"ן הקשה עליו [על רש"י] ואמר [בראשית א"א] ולפי דעתנו לא הבין [הרמב"ן] לא דברי האגדה ולא דברי רבנו שלמה ובהיות רצונו של הרב הנחמני להשיג על דברי רבנו שלמה מחזיר תמיד אחר: אכל הרמב"ן הקשה עליו [על רש"י] ואמר [בראשית א"א] ולפי דעתנו לא הבין [הרמב"ן] לא דברי האגדה ולא דברי רבנו שלמה ובהיות רצונו של הרב הנחמני להשיג על דברי רבנו שלמה מחזיר תמיד אחר: see Eliezer Ashkenazi's: "Ta'am Zekenim," p. 38. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1854.

²⁹ Zunz, l. c.

³⁰ "Reliques Scientifiques," Paris, 1890, p. 169.

³¹ From the Latin "Commentarius," l. c.

³² Rashi's commentary on Berakot was first printed by Joshua Solomon Soncino, December 19, 1483 (Jewish Encycl., Vol. VI, p. 578, s. v. Incunabula). Of this edition but four copies are extant.

The complete Talmud-commentary was first printed by Bomberg, Venice, 1517 et seq. (Zunz, l. c., p. 273.) It is characteristic that the Talmud text is never printed without Rashi's commentary, even in the single-volume edition of Berdychev.

Although it no longer exists in its original completeness, the Rashian commentary covered almost the entire Talmud. For the commentaries on the following tractates have in the course of time been proved to be spurious and falsely ascribed to Rashi: Ta'anit, Mo'ed Katon, Nedarim, Me'ilah and Nazir.³³ The commentary on two tractates was left incomplete, viz.: Baba Batra and Makkot, and was finished by his pupils.

Now, what literature was available to Rashi, while he was at work on his commentaries? The great Zunz has reconstructed for us Rashi's library from his quotations and has shown that it consisted of about eighty works of Mishnic, Talmudic, Geonic, Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-French, and Judeo-German literatures.³⁴ If to-day, some eighty years after Zunz, we were to make a catalogue of Rashi's library, we should on the basis of Zunz's own later works³⁵ as well as the works of others have to correct his account in many particulars. We would have to exclude some titles, such as, e. g. the "Aruk" of Nathan ben Jehiel,³⁶ or the "Targum Jerushalmi,"³⁷ and would have to add others.

Of most interest to us among the books in this library, however, are the Talmud commentaries which originated in the cities of the Rhine-region about the middle of the tenth century, and were developed from the marginal notes, written in the teacher's copy of the text and the note-books of the students. At that time it is certain there was deposited for general use in the academy (Yeshibah) of

³³ See the references given in Weiss, "Bet Talmud" II, p. 199 et seq. Epstein, in Steinschneider's "Festschrift," p. 116, et seq.; Berliner, "Beiträge," p. 25; Zunz, "Gottesdienstliche Vorträge," Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1892, p. XIV.

³⁴ Zunz, "Biographie," p. 322.

³⁵ Zunz himself made corrections of his account of Rashi's library in his "Gottesdienstliche Vorträge," p. XIII.

³⁶ Completed in 1105, the year of Rashi's death. The erroneous impression that Rashi made use of it, is based upon the fact that both Rashi and Nathan drew their information from the Talmud-Codex of Mayence, of which there will be further mention.

³⁷ This was unknown to Rashi. Where it occurs, it is either a later interpolation, or a misreading of "Talmud Jerushalmi" (Berliner, "Beiträge," p. 28).

Mayence, a commentary on almost the entire Talmud.³⁸ This oldest and most important commentary had been universally ascribed to Rabbenu Gershom, until Epstein recently proved that, in its present form, it could not have been written by an individual author, but must have been the work of the disciples of Isaac ben Judah at Mayence.³⁹

Be that as it may, it is a significant fact that Rashi not only made most ample use of this commentary, but, at the same time, sought to put himself in possession of all the material to be found in the French and German Talmudic schools, either in written or oral form. It is, nevertheless, the merit of Rashi, to have welded all that material into a new commentary of his own which would not appear other than a distinctly original work, even if more of the sources, used by him, were known to us.

The commentary on the Talmud concerns itself with two main tasks: the emendation of the text and the explanation of words and subjects. The text of the Talmud, unlike that of the Bible, had not been safeguarded against corruption and error by Masoretic tradition. Skilled and unskilled hands had been working on it and correcting it; to such an extent, in fact, that Rabbenu Gershom had tried to put an end to this abuse by writing a model codex of his own⁴⁰ and by threatening to excommunicate any one that would make a change in the traditional text. But it was left for Rashi to furnish us with a recension of the Talmud which has not been replaced by a better one even after eight hundred years, and which, owing to the Christian auto-da-fes of the Talmud,⁴¹ it would certainly have been more difficult to construct now.

³⁸ In the Wilna Talmud edition, 1880-1886, this commentary on the tractates Ta'anit, Baba Batra, Menahot, Bekorot, 'Arakin, Temurah, Keritot, Me'ilah, Tamid, and Hullin is printed under the name of Rabbenu Gershom.

³⁹ See "Der Gerschom Meor ha-Golah zugeschriebene Talmudcommentar" in Steinschneider's "Festschrift," l. c.

⁴⁰ Rabbenu Tam "Sefer ha-Yashar," §620.

⁴¹ In the year 1249 alone twenty-four cartloads of Talmud manuscripts were burned in Paris. Similar holocausts were made in 1553 at Rome, Bologne, and Venice, 1554 at Ancona, and 1559 at Cremona.

Upon the basis of all the accessible manuscripts of the Talmud and of the entire cognate rabbinical literature,⁴² and, where manuscripts failed him, by the aid of conjectures,⁴³ Rashi's logical mind, opposed to all jugglery, enabled him to select the best readings. These conjectural readings were not inserted in the text, but simply given in his commentary where they are introduced by the uncommonly frequent abbreviation *ה"י גרסין*—*ה"י*. His disciples, however, disregarding the ban of Rabbenu Gershom and the protest of Rabbenu Tam,⁴⁴ corrected the copies of the Talmud in accordance with such of Rashi's emendations as seemed in their judgment an improvement upon the accepted text. They certainly earned the gratitude of succeeding generations by their fearless proceeding, thus, as Weiss remarks, sparing us much Pilpul and distortion of the text.

When once the correct reading is established, Rashi proceeds to indicate the source of a quotation or reference in the text. He then explains the connection of the passage with the whole subject-matter and sets forth the trend of the discussion. In the main, however, he concerns himself with verbal explanation and the exposition of the subject-matter,⁴⁵ a phase of his work in which he is really at his best. For he possesses a true, intuitive power of penetrating through the lifeless words of the text to the very soul of the author. Equipped with a most thorough knowledge of Talmudic literature as well as with a fine psychological insight, he traces the thought of an ancient Tanna through the most subtle turns and shades of meaning, and follows the reasoning of an Amora and the counter-

⁴² See references in Weiss, l. c., p. 130.

⁴³ Margolis shows that the emendations of Rashi are frequently conjectural and in the light of closer examination, unnecessary; the Tosafists, indeed, very often repudiate these emendations. The codices which follow Rashi are therefore less valuable than the older ones. Comp. Max L. Margolis, "Commentarius Isaacidis quatenus ad Textum, Talmudis investigandum adhiberi possit, tractatu Erubhin ostenditur." Inaugural Dissertation, 1891.

⁴⁴ See my "Jacob ben Meir Tam," in Jewish Encycl., VII, p. 37, and "Sifre" ed. Friedmann, Introduction, chap. 2.

⁴⁵ While the commentary of Mayence paraphrases the content and seldom explains details, Rashi directs his attention chiefly to the details. See Weiss, l. c., p. 98; Epstein, l. c., p. 123.

arguments of his opponents in the schoolhouse, until the import of the doubtful utterance is clear to him.

In the clearest and most concise terms he then sets down, what, so to speak, has been inwardly revealed to him. This is the impression one gains while reading the commentary. No foreign thought is interpreted into the text; everything is explained according to principles derived from within.⁴³ Separated by centuries from the ancient teachers, Rashi is thus able to explain them in the spirit of their own times and of their own world, or, as Weiss tersely says: "Rashi was the Parshan (פרשן), and not the Darshan (דרשן) of the Talmud."⁴⁴

The lexicographical and grammatical⁴⁵ standpoint of Rashi is in general that of Menahem ben Saruk and Dunash ibn Labrat, that is, the pre-Hayyujian standpoint of the bi-literal root theory. Nevertheless he often maintains his own views against the authority of his predecessors. In the linguistic explanation of words, he "arrived at his conclusions rather by virtue of his skill and experience than by the conscious application of grammatical rules."⁴⁶ What he did not find in earlier commentaries, he sought with a sure instinct to reach by comparison of roots and by analogy in the Hebrew and through comparison with the Aramaic. He knew neither Arabic, Persian, Greek, Latin, nor any other ancient language, and of the modern languages, he understood only French and a little German.

Rashi's general secular knowledge in the provinces of astronomy, medicine, mathematics, history, and archæology, did not exceed that of his contemporaries. But he was a diligent and judicious collector of the best material offered by the traditions of the Babylonian and

⁴³ Güdemann, "Gesch. des Erziehungswesens u. der Kultur der Juden in Frankreich u. Deutschland," Wien, 1880, p. 41, note 3.

⁴⁴ דור דור ודורשיו IV, p. 324.

⁴⁵ See N. Kronberg, "Raschi als Exeget," Breslau, 1882, p. 15 et seq., p. 34 et seq. Profiat Duran in his "Ma'aseh Efod" says with reference to Rashi's grammatical knowledge: וְנִסְמַךְ הַלֶּשֶׁן כְּתִב רַבְרִים נַחֲמָדִים See Berliner's "Rashi" (second edition), p. VIII, note 5.

⁴⁶ Zunz, "Biographie," p. 285.

Franco-German schools as well as that offered by the constant contact with the life of the cosmopolitan city in which he lived."^a

There has been almost no detailed examination of the sources and merits of Rashi's secular learning. Immanuel Löw, however, in his recent paper on the names of plants in Rashi's commentaries on Bible and Talmud,⁴ arrives at results, quite flattering to Rashi's knowledge of botany, there being, among 128 botanical names mentioned by the commentator, only 22 errors. It is desirable that similar painstaking investigations be made into the other branches of knowledge of which there are traces in the Rashian commentaries.

It is worth while to say a word now concerning the style of the commentary on the Talmud. If "style is the expression of thought or emotion in written words," as a modern teacher has said, Rashi's admirable style in its clearness and terseness is the expression of his clear, keen, and logical intellect. As an experienced teacher, he anticipates every difficulty that the student may encounter and comes to the aid of the reader with a succinct sentence,—sometimes with a single word. His brevity became proverbial, though not always typical among the Jews. On the other hand, his failure to name the sources, in deference to brevity, must be regarded as a shortcoming of his style.

The Talmud commentary was the result of uninterrupted study lasting for decades. Rashi made it his particular business to revise again and again his explanations of words and emendations of the text;⁵ but the changes, which he made, could not at once become known everywhere. For, owing to the rapid popularity which his commentaries on the Talmud earned even during his life-time, there soon came to be various versions. In fact, we are acquainted with no less than three; the first of which was written during his student years at Worms; the second at Mayence; the third which, as a rule,

^a Berliner, "Blicke in die Geisteswerkstatt Raschi's," p. 5 et seq. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1905.

⁴ Immanuel Löw, "Pflanzennamen bei Raschi" in Berliner's "Festschrift." Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1903. p. 231.

⁵ Which is clearly shown by Isaac C. Moses of Vienna, who made use of a manuscript written by Rashi himself. See "Or Zarua." I, p. 29 b; Epstein, "Schemaja" in Monatschrift, 1897. p. 258.

is to be found in all printed editions, at Troyes.⁵⁰ The fact that there were different versions easily accounts for the variants, or even contradictions, in parallel passages of his commentary, as well as for the differences between quotations in the Tosafot or similar works and in the Rashian text, which we have.

Rashi's Talmudical commentary, helpful as it was in itself, was still more beneficial for the impetus it gave to the rise of the important school of the Tosafists whose work was thereby made possible. The work of the Tosafists, however, though starting from that of Rashi, had a much wider scope. While Rashi was mainly concerned with the simple exposition of the Talmud text and only on rare occasions appended a statement, summing up the Halakah and applying it to modern conditions, the Tosafists made it their principal business, either by direct interpretation or by analogical derivation, to deduce from the Talmud new regulations. These regulations had in view the adjustment of the Talmudic law to the conditions arising from the European environment and from the contact of the French and German Jews with their Christian neighbors. The Tosafists actually made "supplements" (Tosafot), to Talmudic law.

Unobtrusively and without any claim to authority, Rashi and the Tosafists, especially their main representative, Jacob ben Meir Tam, exerted a deeper and more widespread influence upon succeeding generations than any other authority after the close of the Talmud. They set the standard for the methods of study of the Talmud as well as for religious practice in the entire Jewry of Europe, and they remain the leaders of Talmudic Judaism in these two spheres up to the present day.⁵¹

THE BIBLE COMMENTARY.

We pass now to a consideration of Rashi's Commentary on the Bible. This commentary, which extends over the whole Bible with the exception of Chronicles,^{51a} Ezra-Nehemiah,^{51b} and the last part of

⁵⁰ Epstein, l. c., p. 258, note 2.

⁵¹ See Güdemann, l. c., p. 44.

^{51a} See Rosin, l. c., p. 69.

^{51b} See Rosin, l. c., p. 21.

Job, occupies to a certain extent the same relation to his commentary on the Talmud as does the Haggadah to the Halakah. It is less heavy and less serious than the Talmud commentary, and is written in a lighter mood. Rashi, so to say, lets himself go, and this work gives the impression of being the child of his hours of leisure, "the blooming garden," in which he sought refuge from "the dusty quarrels of the Halakah" (Heine, "Hebräische Melodien").

It is interesting to note how Rashi, in accordance with the tendency of his age, seeks to emancipate himself from the older exegesis, still under the sway of the Talmud, and how he strives for the Peshat, *i. e.*, for a sober, natural, and rational interpretation of the Bible. As he tells us at the beginning of the work, by way of preface,⁵² his standpoint is entirely that of the Peshat, the Derash being resorted to only when it can be harmonized with the text. It is true that he often breaks this rule, falling unconsciously into the Derash, even where it cannot be reconciled with the plain text. On the other hand, he emphatically repudiates the Midrashic explanation in other innumerable cases, for grammatical or exegetical reasons.⁵³ It is, however, just this discrimination between the traditional Midrashic interpretations, on the basis of their exegetical value, that makes Rashi the pioneer of the Peshat.⁵⁴

In general, his commentary on the Pentateuch is more Midrashic than that on the other books of the Bible. Similarly, in the Pentateuch the commentary on the legal portions are more Midrashic than the commentary on historical narratives. This is what one would expect from the subject-matter. The Midrashim on the Pentateuch had become almost inseparably connected and intertwined with the text, and, as Rashi unreservedly followed tradition, there was possible in the legal parts of the Pentateuch, no interpretation other than the Midrashic-halakic. On the whole, however, Rashi sought

⁵² Genesis, 3, 8, 'ולאנדה המישבת דבר' וקרא לפשוטו של קרא לא באתי אלא לפשוטו של קרא ולאנדה המישבת דבר' cf. also Rashi on Isaiah, 26, 11 and Ps. 68, 37; Berliner "Beiträge," p. 10.

⁵³ See references, Weiss, l. c., II, p. 226.

⁵⁴ See Bacher, "Die Bibelexege," in Winter u. Wünsche "Die Jüdische Literatur seit Abschluss des Kanons," Vol. II, p. 276.

to arrive at the meaning of Scripture independently, always guided by the frequently emphasized Talmudic principle that no Bible-verse should be divested of its simple sense.⁵⁵

In his later years Rashi was inclined to revise his commentary in consonance with the advanced rational methods of Bible interpretation, i. e., the Peshat.⁵⁶ But it was perhaps just this happy and harmonious blending of Derash and Peshat, satisfying, as it did, the adherents of both tendencies, that won the heart of the Jewish people as no other book has done.

Owing to its popularity, the text of Rashi's commentary was amplified in the sequel by additions and underwent changes at the hands of the foremost among his pupils, such as, *e. g.*, Joseph Kara and Shemaiah. Much more, however, has it suffered in points of correctness, clearness, and force through the ignorance of countless copyists and printers.

A. Berliner has made the first attempt at a critical edition of the commentary on the Pentateuch,⁵⁷ which has always been the most popular part.⁵⁸ This edition, however, although based upon more than one hundred European manuscripts and many rare prints,⁵⁹ cannot be considered as final.

In spite of the exceedingly large number of old and good Rashi manuscripts, scattered throughout the libraries of Europe and the Orient,⁶⁰ we still possess no critical edition of the complete Bible commentary. Would that some academy or learned society might soon undertake this neglected task!

⁵⁵ Bacher, l. c.

⁵⁶ See Rashbam on Genesis, 37,1: *היה צריך לעשות פירושים אחרים לפי הפשטות*. *המתחרשים בכל יום*.

⁵⁷ Raschi, "Der Kommentar des Salomo B. Isak über (sic!) den Pentateuch." Second revised edition Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1905.

⁵⁸ Printed by Abraham ben Gershon in Reggio, Calabria, on Adar 10 (February 5), 1475—the first Hebrew book whose date of publication we know with exactness.

⁵⁹ Berliner, l. c., p. X, et seq.

⁶⁰ The Paris library alone contains no less than twenty-five Rashi-manuscripts to various parts of the Bible; Oxford has thirty-one, Parma alone thirty-eight Pentateuch manuscripts, not to mention smaller libraries which also contain several. See Darmesteter, l. c., p. 173 et seq.

In spite of the absence of a critical edition, "Rashi became and remained throughout all the Middle Ages, the 'Expounder of the Law' (פרשנרתא) *ראש' ד'תלמוד*. He introduced the lad to the Bible and afforded also to the riper man, even to the scholar, the opportunity for thought and research. One may compare him, if it be permitted, to Terence, who also served as a school book in the Middle Ages, and of whom Grotius, when caught reading him and taken to task for this, said: 'Boys read Terence in one manner, Grotius in another!' So Rashi likewise was a book for young and old. In the fourteenth century, a man was considered to possess but the most elementary education, if his knowledge was confined to Rashi's Bible commentary; while, on the other hand, the most respected and celebrated rabbi would regard it as a compliment, if it was said of him that he was familiar with this commentary."⁶¹

Moreover, outside of the Jewish pale Rashi received unusual consideration, not only at the hands of the Roman censors who, in the year 1617, struck out whatever did not meet with their approval, but also on the part of Christian exegetes of the Middle Ages and of modern times who made frequent use of his commentaries, sometimes even without giving him credit.⁶² As is well known, the Bible translation of Luther is dependent upon Nicholas de Lyra to such an extent that it was remarked by way of jest: "Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset." Now, Nicholas de Lyra followed Rashi so closely that he was called the "Ape of Rashi."⁶³

Thus did Rashi's influence continue throughout the ages. Up to this very day the literary activity, which his commentaries have inspired from their first appearance, has stimulated research in Jewish circles, representing the widest divergence in their philosophical and religious views.

While Rashi's importance in the development of rational exegesis, in Bible and Talmud, has received due attention at the hands of

⁶¹ Gudemann, l. c., p. 15.

⁶² Zunz, l. c., p. 346 et seq.

⁶³ Gudemann, l. c., p. 16. As to the dependence of Nicholas de Lyra's commentary on the Psalms upon that of Rashi, see Neumann, "Influence de Rashi et d'autres Commentateurs Juifs sur les Postillae Perpetuae de Nicolas de Lyre," in "Revue des Études Juives," XXVI, p. 172 et seq., XXVII, p. 230.

scholars, little as yet has been done to determine his position in the history of the Hebrew language, or his position in the history of the text of the Talmud. Little also has been done to throw light upon Rashi's general secular knowledge. All of these problems Zunz long ago set for the future investigator.⁶⁴

In the last decades, however, much has been done toward an appreciation of the importance for the history of the French language, of the ancient French glosses in Rashi's commentaries. These glosses amount to 3157, of which 967 refer to the Bible, 2190 to the Talmud.⁶⁵ They have not yet been treated exhaustively, although they constitute an important source for the reconstruction of ancient French.⁶⁶ The preliminary work⁶⁷ in this field has been done by Arsène Darmesteter who, at the expense of the French government, examined, for that purpose, the Rashi manuscripts of England, France, and Italy. Death, however, cut short this scholar's career in his 42d year, and put an end to this work, which was a favorite plan of his conceived by him while yet a Yeshibah-bahur. Thus are the glosses of Rashi still awaiting treatment at the hands of a scholar as competent as Darmesteter.⁶⁸

In the history of Hebrew-French glosses contained in Rabbinic

⁶⁴ Zunz, l. c., p. 376.

⁶⁵ A. Darmesteter, l. c.

⁶⁶ The oldest Rabbinic document for the reconstruction of the French language in the 10th century is the commentary ascribed to Rabbenu Gershom, which contains about 120 French glosses. See, concerning it, the scholarly article of L. Brandin in "Revue des Études Juives," XLII, p. 48 et seq., XLIII, p. 72 et seq. Concerning the 15 French glosses in the Bible commentary of Menahem b. Helbo, who preceded Rashi, see S. Poznansky. פתרון חלבו in N. Sokolow's "Sefer ha-Yobel," Warsaw, 1904.

⁶⁷ Collected and published by his brother, James Darmesteter, in "Reliques Scientifiques," Vol. I, part 2 (Études Judeo-Françaises). The older literature on the glosses is given there. See also G. Schlessinger, "Die alt-französischen Wörter im Machsor Vitry." Mayence, 1899, p. 9 et seq.

⁶⁸ A. Berliner recently published "Die alt-französischen Ausdrücke im Pentateuch-Commentar Raschis," Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1905, under the Hebrew title, קונטרס הכלעין, as "Sonderabdruck aus der zweiten Auflage der Raschi-edition des Verfassers." The pamphlet is not meant to be a scientific study, but is intended simply for a practical purpose (page 7).

literature down to the fifteenth century, Rashi's influence is clearly perceptible; for all Hebrew-French glossaries, as far as known to us, draw their material principally from him.⁶⁶ A recently published Hebrew-French glossary of the thirteenth century⁷⁰ contains numerous evidences of the influence Rashi must have exerted.

OTHER WRITINGS.

Rashi wrote a commentary on Genesis rabbah which apparently has been lost; for the commentary first published under his name by Abraham ben Gedaliah ibn Asher of Venice (1562), is plainly not genuine.⁷¹ This commentary represents an unskillful compilation from several commentaries, one of which, beginning with the section "Weeleh Toledot" (Genesis XXV, 19), is perhaps based upon a fragment of the original Rashi commentary.⁷² There has also been ascribed to Rashi by its first publisher a commentary on the "Pirke Abot" (Mantua, 1540)—a commentary which Jacob Emden already declared to be spurious.⁷³

The Siddur, said to have been written by Rashi, and extant in three incomplete manuscripts, has recently been subjected to a critical analysis⁷⁴ and is being prepared for publication at the hands of Salomon Buber of Lemberg, who, in spite of his old age, has undertaken the publication of all hitherto unpublished works, ascribed to Rashi. Of the seven Selihot composed by Rashi, the dominant note of which is deep sorrow, only two have found a place in our liturgy.⁷⁵

⁶⁶ Brandin, "Les Glosses Françaises de Gerschom de Metz," in "Revue des Études Juives," XLII, 1. c.

⁷⁰ Mayer Lambert et Louis Brandin, "Glossaire Hébreu-Français du XIII^e Siècle," Paris, 1905.

⁷¹ To which Weiss, 1. c., p. 262, and O. H. Schorr, in "He-Haluz" X, have already called attention.

⁷² A. Epstein, "Der sogenannte Raschi-Commentar zu Bereschit-Rabba," in Berliner's "Magazin für die Wiss. des Judenthums," 1887, p. 1 et seq.

⁷³ See his "Ez-Abot," (Commentary on "Pirke Abot"), Weiss, 1. c., p. 262.

⁷⁴ Buber, "Sefer ha-Orah" Introduction, p. 60 et seq.; comp. also, Zunz, 1. c., p. 374; idem, "Die Ritus," p. 25; David Kaufmann in "Bet Talmud," II, p. 295; Halberstamm, ib., p. 296.

⁷⁵ Zunz, "Literatur-Geschichte," p. 252.

"In treating of Rashi as a teacher and commentator, we must not forget his activity as a Dayyan and Rabbi." In his Siddur and in his "Sefer Issur we-Hetter";^{7a} likewise in various later halakic writings, such as the "Mahzor Vitry"^{7b} by Rashi's pupil Simḥah of Vitry, the "Sefer ha-Pardes"^{7c} and "Sefer ha-Orah"^{7d} (both of which in their accepted form were erroneously ascribed to Rashi himself), the "Shibbole ha-Leḳet" and other similar works, as well as in collections of Gaonic responsa,^{7e} are imbedded Rashi's short ritualistic treatises^{7f} and numerous responsa.

Even as a student Rashi was successful in controverting many a decision of his teachers,⁸⁰ and was once selected by them as a judge in a case brought for decision.⁸¹ A number of Rashi's regulations have remained in force down to our day, *e. g.* his decision concerning the position of the Mezuzah⁸² and his arrangement of the portions from the Torah in the phylacteries;⁸³ hence we speak of "Rashi's Tefillin" as distinguished from "Rabbenu Tam's Tephillin." Among his contemporaries Rashi stood high as an authority in halakic matters, as is proved by the numerous inquiries which came to him on many occasions from France and Germany. His time and energy being occupied with his commentaries, however, he often referred such

^{7a} Not the printed work of Isaac ben Meir of Düren (1320-1330), but a work in manuscript, ascribed to Rashi, see Buber, l. c., p. 40 et seq.

^{7b} See the references in Hurwitz, "Einleitung u. Register zum Machzor Vitry," Berlin, 1896-97, p. 58.

^{7c} Ed. pr. Constantinople, 1807, second edition Warsaw, 1870; see Buber, l. c., p. 88.

^{7d} Recently published by S. Buber, Lemberg, 1905, with a very valuable introduction. Concerning the authorship of this work, see Epstein, l. c., p. 296 et seq., and Buber, l. c., p. 28.

^{7e} For fuller references see Buber, l. c., p. 153, and Müller, l. c., p. XXV et seq.

^{7f} See Epstein, in "Monatsschrift," 1897, p. 258 et seq.

⁸⁰ *E. g.* Isaac ha-Levi, "Pardes," No. 242; Müller, l. c., No. 11; Epstein, l. c., p. 258.

⁸¹ See Goldberg, l. c., No. 12.

⁸² Zunz, "Biographie," p. 331, note 64.

⁸³ Menahot, 34 b. Raschi s. v. כִּיצַד סֵרִין; Tosafot, *ibid.*, s. v. וְהָקוּרָא; "Or Zarua," Vol. I, p. 558; "Sefer ha-Terummah," Hilkot Tefillin, No. 206; "Machzor Vitry," No. 512, p. 260.

questions to his disciples, to be answered according to his instructions, his relative Shemaiah⁸⁴ very often acting as secretary.

Rashi's decisions, however, had already lost their authoritative force in the following generation. His own grandson, Jacob ben Meir, frequently contradicted him. Rashi was a scholar far too contemplative and introspective to exercise a strong influence upon the Halakah of daily life. He was, moreover, too careful and conscientious to commit himself in haste to decisions⁸⁵ of practical consequence. In fact, once, when yielding to an importunate request, he begged his disciples to keep the decision secret.⁸⁶ From this it will be intelligible why, in his Talmud commentary, he gives so few *Piske Halakah* (legal decisions,—a fact, already noticed by Hayyim david Azulai.⁸⁷

This reluctance to regulate the practical religious life of his contemporaries is plainly in keeping with his warm and unreserved advocacy of the Minhag. The Minhag, Rashi held, is itself a law,⁸⁸ which is based upon good reasons,⁸⁹ and a departure from which during the galut⁹⁰ would endanger the peace of the congregations of Israel.⁹¹

CHARACTERIZATION.

A few more words will, I hope, complete the sketch of Rashi's character, of which some traits have been mentioned in the previous pages and particularly in the last paragraph. Of a mild and loving

⁸⁴ Concerning him see Epstein, l. c., p. 260.

⁸⁵ See "Pardes," No. 84, at the end, and No. 129; "Machzor Vitry," No. 43, p. 268; Berliner, "Zur Charakteristik Raschis," in Kaufmann's "Gedenkbuch," Breslau, 1900, p. 267 et seq.

⁸⁶ Mordechai on Baba Mezia, §338; Rashi on Hulin, 12 a; Berliner, l. c., p. 269 et seq.

⁸⁷ Müller (l. c., p. XXVI) is of the opinion that Rashi gives the *Pesak* only on such subjects which he has already treated at length elsewhere, as in a *Responsum*, while Weiss (l. c., p. 136), holds that he gives a decision only in cases concerning which there was difference of opinion among his contemporaries.

⁸⁸ "Pardes," §174.

⁸⁹ Ibid., §57, at the end.

⁹⁰ Ibid., §1, at the end.

⁹¹ Ibid., §175, at the end.

nature. Rashi was charitable enough to ascribe to the deeds of his fellowmen noble rather than low motives. As he admonished his co-religionists to love peace and harmony, by which alone they could withstand the persecutions of their time," so he urged, like his predecessor Rabbenu Gershom, a mild treatment of those who had embraced Christianity under the pressure of circumstances." He was even inclined to regard these meshummadim as full Jews in matters religious, and censured those who recalled the apostasy of such as had returned to Judaism."

Rashi was a man of great kindness and over-flowing cordiality. How warm and loving was it of the great teacher to call his pupils brothers and friends!" With this mildness and affectionate nature there went a natural and genuine modesty, which was deepened and ennobled by a recognition of the fragmentary character of all human knowledge. In every responsum, although directed to the most insignificant inquirer, we find this simple modesty." While profoundly reverential to his teachers and masters, Rashi was nevertheless independent in his judgment and by no means timid, when to his mind, the view of an older man had to be set aside. His literary honesty is a model for all times. He gladly accepted instruction from others," as he willingly admitted his own errors, often correcting former explanations and even halakic decisions." Whoever has even a slight acquaintance with Rashi's commentaries, knows how ready Rashi is, when necessary, to make an admission of ignorance.

The few facts we possess regarding Rashi's life as well as Rashi's

* See "Ozar Nehmad," Vol. II, p. 175.

* See Berliner, l. c., p. 271 et seq.

* "Ozar Nehmad," l. c.; Mordechai, l. c., § 321.

* Berliner, l. c., p. 266.

* Characteristic in this respect is the answer he gave to the Jewish community of Cavaillon which had requested him to abrogate a ban pronounced by Rabbenu Gershom. Said Rashi: "In regard to your plea to remove this ban, may it be far from me to assume the authority of a competent Bet Din. Were I in your midst, I would join you and abrogate the ban; but who am I that I should assume authority in other communities, for I am poor and insignificant, and am as weak as an orphan." ("Ozar Nehmad," l. c., p. 178.)

* "Or Zarua," II, 315.

* "Pardes," §139.

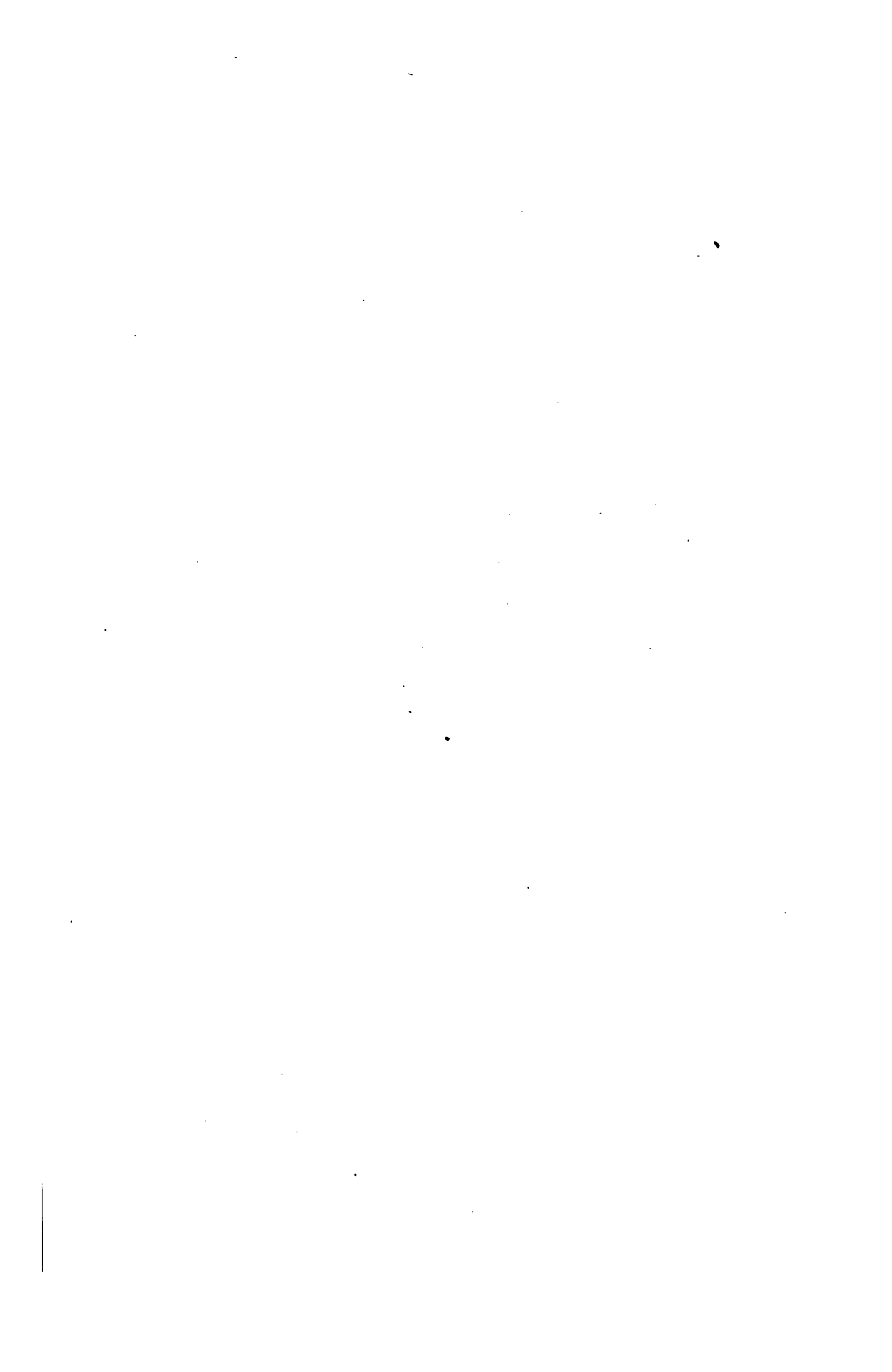
writings, point to the purity of his character, the unselfishness of his aims through life, the uncompromising sincerity and modest simplicity of his nature. When he passed away, the seed sown so generously by his overpowering personality, had already come to thousand-fold fruitage, and throughout the ages his soul and his works continued to inspire and to stimulate. Even to-day, separated as we are from the great teacher by a period of eight centuries, no matter whether we regard him in the light of legend or in the truthful mirror of history, we readily assent to the estimate of the German halakist Eliezer ben Nathan,⁹⁹ pronounced a generation after Rashi's death:

מימיו אנו שותים וכפיו אנו חיים אשר און וחקר ותקן אונים לתורה. שפתותיו שמרו לעת, ותורה נתבקשה ונתחרשה ונדרשה מפיו, תורת אמת היתה בפיהו בשלום ובמישור הלך והעמיד לעולם רגל שלישי והגדיל תורה והאדיר:

"Of his waters we drink and by his words we live; he searched out, examined, and disclosed the meaning of the Torah; his lips kept knowledge and the Law was sought at his mouth; even as it was rejuvenated by him; the law of truth was in his mouth; he walked in peace and uprightness; he placed the Law upon a firm foundation and made it great and glorious."

From the historical perspective of our own day we may say that Rashi represents the purest and noblest type of mediæval Talmudic Judaism, a living witness of the fact that from the soil of Talmudic culture, without the adventitious aid of foreign influence, there could arise a great and, in the truest sense, harmonious character. Of those who in the Middle Ages, sought to fuse Jewish and non-Jewish thought, Maimonides admittedly ranks highest both in equipment and achievement. Compared with him, Rashi appears one-sided, deficient in the sciences and philosophies, and limited in his outlook. In originality and epoch-making characteristics, however, Rashi excels. Rashi was no systematic genius, no *philosopher*; but he was more than that. In our own opinion the absolutely harmonious and unequivocally true personality of Rashi is infinitely more genuine and more truly Jewish.

⁹⁹ Weiss, l. c., p. 73.



E.

[The writer alone is responsible for views expressed in this article.]

THE PATHOLOGY OF LACK OF AFFILIATION.

BY RABBI GEORGE ZEPIN, *Director of Synagogue Extension.*

REPORT OF CHAIRMAN OF SYNAGOGUE EXTENSION COMMITTEE OF
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS.

About two years ago the Committee on Circuit Work was called into existence for the purpose of establishing congregations and sabbath-schools in scattered communities

The First Year of throughout the United States. After the
Synagogue expiration of a year, the committee was re-
Extension. requested by this Conference of American

Rabbis to carry its operations into some of the large cities. The especial task, that was undertaken as a result of this recommendation, was the establishing of a moderately reformed synagogue in the orthodox section of Philadelphia. These various activities of the Circuit Work Committee have succeeded in laying open a broad cross-section of Jewish life. Among other interesting phenomena thus presented to view, one is that "lack of affiliation" is a disease not confined to the country, but one that infects the cities as well. The undertaking in Philadelphia, originally regarded as quite a departure from our legitimate task, is now looked upon as merely another phase of the problem we were called to solve.

The labors of the original committee were considerably circumscribed, because those who created it, legislated for unknown conditions. But the experience of these two

The Task of the years has shown us that many problems is
Board of Synagogue Judaism are to be regarded as similar in
and School nature and subject to similar solutions. The
Extension. Board of Managers of Synagogue and

School Extension, as the significant change of name indicates, regards as its task—the reclaiming of unaffiliated

Jews. Inasmuch as this department is fathered by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which counts among its members Orthodox as well as Reform congregations, it does not ask the question, whether these "unaffiliated" are of the reform or orthodox camp. Nor does this "Board" conceive it, as its duty, to dictate to the religious society which it establishes for such unaffiliated—what shall be their religious complexion. I state this with particular emphasis because there seems to be an opinion in certain quarters that the business of the Union is to establish Reform congregations. I desire to state for the Union that this is not the case. A Conference of Reform Rabbis might make it its business to establish Reform congregations. The Union, however, is committed to neither Orthodoxy nor Reform, but to Judaism.

In undertaking the task of bringing back the unaffiliated, the Board of Managers regards itself as empowered (to the extent of its finances) to employ whatever means necessary to bring about these ends. In pursuance of this purpose, for instance, it has recently undertaken to publish sermonic and sabbath-school literature. Again during the coming season it is the intention of the Board of Managers to organize at the various universities, Jewish Societies for the purpose of pursuing scientific studies in Judaism. On a recent occasion the Board organized in Michigan City, Indiana, a Hebrew Literature Society. I quote these several instances to show that our task is not purely one of organizing sabbath-schools and synagogues in small or large cities, but the larger task of bringing back the unaffiliated to the ranks of Judaism.

To start out with the intention of organizing congregations and then to arrive at the conclusion that there are factors other than congregational which can help very much

**Are Congregations
the Sole Require-
ments of the
Situation?**

to preserve Judaism, may strike some thoughtless persons as marvelous, if not heretical. Yet this is a conclusion I have reached after careful study, and after a considerable inward struggle. For instance, I have visited many communities where congregations have been maintained for years under lay ministration and occasionally under quasi-

rabbinical malministration—but where the percentage of intermarriage was phenomenally high. On the other hand, in many towns where a synagogue existed merely as a pious hope in the hearts of a few idealists the percentage of intermarriage has been correspondingly low. These are not unrelated phenomena. Very often a Jewish lodge is a great bond between an individual and the Jewish community. Very often the superciliously regarded Jewish club serves this end better than we imagine. All other things aside—every Jewish club is a protest against intermarriage. Place the value of that where you will. All of which inclines me to deviate from the usual statistical method of a report and enter into an analysis of the situation.

The existence of a set of conditions, that makes lack of affiliation a common phenomenon, should give us pause. Germany may have its problem of intermarriage, the Jews of

The Pathology of Russia may view with horror the numbers
Lack of Affiliation. whom the desire for professional honors leads to the baptismal font, but ours is a

problem that may well alarm us in spite of our optimism. Lack of affiliation in this country is not always the result of untoward conditions. Many communities have enough members to organize and have even had services offered to them, but cannot bring themselves to take advantage of these offers unless under pressure. There are many, again, who live in large cities where the possibilities for affiliation are certainly many but who, strangely enough, neglect these possibilities. And if you still doubt the strength of my contention consider the number of those who are only “nominally” affiliated. Lack of affiliation in this country is a pathological condition. There may be some who feel a rising impatience at this forcible introduction of theories into a practical report. But if lack of affiliation is to be regarded as a pathological condition, its cure to be lasting and thorough must be based upon a correct diagnosis of the disease. It may not be *enough* to go on adding congregation to congregation—if congregations are not the sole requirements of the situation. Less than that we can hardly do, more than that may be needed. If you should promise not to prosecute me for heresy—I would venture the

assertion that congregational life in itself is not always an assurance of Judaism's integrity.

Sometimes, when I hear it argued that Israel will be saved by a multitude of synagogues, I am forcibly reminded of a dull story often

repeated by a certain professor of physical diagnosis. A young physician was visited by a patient who complained of an ulcerated mouth. Being in a quandary as to the disease, he prescribed a gargle consisting of a certain harmless potassium chlorate dissolved in water. The remedy was not a specific cure for any particular disease, for the very good reason that the young doctor did not know the disease. But upon being pressed for an explanation by some colleagues, he revealed this enviable example of Socratic logic. Major Premise: Potassium Chlorate when dissolved in water liberates oxygen. Minor Premise: The mucous membrane of the mouth needs oxygen (this almost as an axiom). The Marvelous Conclusion: Hence a gargle releasing oxygen cannot but help a sore mouth.

Similarly, we might be disposed to reason. A congregation gives a preacher an opportunity to preach Judaism. The unaffiliated need Judaism. Hence, a congregation giving a man an opportunity to preach what his listeners need will bring back the wayward to the cause. Quod est probandum. Which is yet to be proven. To be sure, this method of liberating oxygen answers the purpose very well in certain cases where oxygen is needed, just as organizing congregations answers the purpose where congregations are needed, but there are conditions wherein mere synagogues and contributions are not very satisfactory substitutes for religion. At least, this much we may conclude that a synagogal organization while under certain circumstances a great help to preserve Judaism is not always a panacea for all Jewish ills. As a humble investigator of the pathology of lack of affiliation I mention here to-day, two well-known cases suffering from this disease, the unaffiliated Country Jew and the unaffiliated orthodox Jew.

I. THE UNAFFILIATED COUNTRY JEW.

The case of the unaffiliated Country Jew is almost chronic, being of about twenty years standing. Before that time "Reform" as an issue had not penetrated the country districts. Jews were orthodox Jews. They observed as many religious customs as were compatible with their modes of living. They had rabbis who were *schochetim*, and teachers in their parochial schools. The circle of the unaffiliated was confined to the isolated individuals or families. About twenty years ago "Reform" became an issue in the smaller centers of the west. About the same time the Hebrew Union College sent forth its first graduates. With the spread of these men throughout the country a new set of ideas concerning the requirements of the rabbinate became prevalent. So profound was this change that the old-fashioned orthodox rabbi outlived his usefulness in a very short time. The number of men whom the college could graduate was small, the requirements of the situation were great with the result that the whole country population has been without religious leaders for twenty years. The old-fashioned rabbi they would not have, the new-fashioned they could not get.

Reform came as a double movement; from without it was a movement of enlightenment, from within it was a reaction against ceremonialism, which was, at that time, conceived to be the embodiment of lack of enlightenment. A significant difference is to be noticed between the methods whereby this religious movement developed in the cities and in the country. In the cities Reform developed under the guidance of leaders, men of learning who had Judaism at heart. However

Development of ing who had Judaism at heart. However
Reform in the Cities bizarre certain features of the change appear, however mistaken may have been

Compared to. certain conceptions of Judaism, yet the frequent conferences, the interchange of opinion helped these leaders, in the long run, to guide the destinies of Reform along logical and historic lines. Some of the early blunders were conscientiously rectified, some of the theories modified. In short, a period of reconstruction followed the period of destruction.

In the country, Reform developed without trained leaders. The original theories were like seeds thrown upon the fertile ground and allowed to grow up wild. Enlightenment

Development of and opposition to ceremonial Judaism were
Reform in Country. the twin seeds, which in the course of some two decades have developed into a most curious plant. The unaffiliated Country Jew still represents Reform in its iconoclastic, destructive stage. Not only has reconstruction not yet set in, but the iconoclasm has degenerated into a sort of de-Judaization. The animus originally directed against ceremonialism has been subtly transferred to Judaism itself, by those to whom Judaism and its temporary expression are one. The Country Jew is still afraid of being considered "ceremonial-ridden," or what is to him equivalent—unenlightened. The reply that I received from a lady last year, that we would do better not to organize a congregation lest we make "rishus," was paralleled a few weeks ago by that of another woman who said, "I'm in favor of a congregation—but not in this town." She enjoyed the reputation among her Christian friends of being "enlightened," "liberal," in much the same sense in which we regard a Christian as liberal who does not cross himself every minute of the day. To her, a return to Judaism was a harking back to the days of unenlightenment. The religion of the unaffiliated Country Jew is often a case of reform gone to seed.

I mean by this, that the subtle explanation of the pathology of lack of affiliation is to be sought for in a peculiar and unusual quarter.

The reasons touched upon above are merely
The Lost Sense of the pre-disposing causes that have helped to
Self-Assertiveness bring about the present situation. They be-
the Product of long to the general class of sins attributed to
German Rationalism. the "transitional period." Concerning the determining cause of this disease I venture

this guess. Will we not find a clue to the solution in the lost sense of self-assertiveness that characterizes present-day reform. How we duck and run to cover at the mention of the phrase "chosen people." And yet every nation and every religion that has wrought the miracles of history has believed itself "chosen," commissioned to perform a task. Orthodoxy, under all manner of persecution, no matter how

low-ebbed the tide of hope never lost the fine old sense of supremacy over the gentile. To the glamor of gentile manners and gentile civilization it answered calmly: "He is only a Goy." Where did we lose this triple armor of defence? Can we retrace our steps and find it again? Perhaps there is something in the "Aufklaerungsphilosophie," wherein Reform originated that has foreshadowed this state? The philosophy of *becoming civilized* breathes in at its very birth the subtle poison which in the end will work its undoing. Is not this, for instance, a sentiment that is at the bottom of much that goes by the name of Reform? "Let us have a religious service to which we will not be ashamed to invite a Christian." And yet, this is a most dangerous incentive to action. To become habituated to this slavish attitude of mind is to show that very spirit of which we complain—the lost sense of self-assertiveness. These are the germs of that disease whose present development is called "lack of affiliation," by us, and "assimilation" by others. These germs were born of the froth of German Rationalism, cradled in hearts that longed for human equality and brought to full fruition in this land which gathers the exiles from the ends of the earth and affiliates—assimilates them—to a type of its own.

How old this dream is! How many countless monarchs before Alexander tried to unify—affiliate—the world. Alexander tried to make it one people, Rome one nation, papacy one religion, Germany, with its "Aufklaerung" one civilization. How futile have been all these attempts! The world cannot become one ethnic group, no more than it can be governed by one set of laws. It is not ready (if it ever will be) to worship the same God, nor can it be guided by the same canons of civilization. As each of these golden clouds flits by on its hidden wings, trailing its glorious pageantry of hope, its dreams of fraternity, its psalms of peace, its rainbow of prosperity—we are tempted to exclaim, "Oh that Ishmael might live before thee!" But it is not Ishmael, the handsome, the brilliant, the successful, but the plain, homely Isaac who has survived the centuries, and bids fair to outlive the future.

**One Race,
One Nation,
One Religion,
One Civilization.**

In a religious discussion, no matter how scientific, it is almost impossible to avoid the expression of a personal opinion. As far as

I am concerned I cannot bring myself to
In a Personal Vein. blame the early German Jewish reformers for having grafted their Judaism upon rationalistic philosophy. They were following out a good, old tradition, whereby Judaism had been harmonized with each of the prevalent philosophies. It would have required the tongue of a seer to foretell the coming of the present era, when men may be free, not because they have all become alike, but in spite of the fact that they are all different. Nor can I wring my hands in holy horror at the contemplation of that small band of men who are content to change what was once an ethnic *as well as* religious group into a society for the pursuance of aims purely religious.

Within the last decade, a wave of deeper religious feeling has swept, imperceptibly over the Jewish population of America. It is doubtful, by way of example, whether the circuit work movement would have received as hearty a welcome ten years ago, as it does to-day. And even to-day there are some cities wherein circuit work

**The Last Ten
Years have been
A Decade of
Awakening.**

has not met with success. Each community has individuals living in all stages of religious development. We meet men, who regard our efforts to awaken Jewish sentiment as an intrusion upon their self-complacency. At least one person in each community makes the remark that Judaism is dead in that town. And many are content to leave it that way. A far greater percentage, however, give unmistakable evidence of their appreciation of our efforts. The principal reason for this awakening is probably the influx of Russian Jews into America. Of the million and a half Jews in this country, very likely, a million and a quarter hail from Eastern Europe. Their presence in this country has awakened in American Jews, as a whole, a new sense of duty and religious responsibility. I venture to assert that Zionism, the pale luminary shining in the European sky, has not been without effect in stirring the waters of American Judaism.

How has this diagnosis affected the treatment of the case?

Merely in so far, as it has brought home to us the truth that Israel

**The First False
Step that Counts.**

will be saved, not by synagogues alone, but by what is preached in them. To use a simile appreciated in these days of militarism, there is no harm in increasing our navies and multiplying our armaments—but victory depends first, last, and every time on the man behind the gun. There is no harm in increasing congregations and sabbath-schools, but the issue lies not with these, but with the man behind the pulpit. The change we need is a change of attitude towards Judaism. There is something wrong at every fountain-head of Reform. It is the first false step that counts. Our first false step lay in that the early Reformers fought Orthodoxy with the same weapons that the great iconoclastic powers of the world attacked Christianity. But our past was not identical with the past of Christianity, and the ready weapons from the arsenal of iconoclasm were flagrantly inapplicable to the case. When Voltaire fought the church, which he did not scruple to call “l’infame”—the infamous—there was an actual church in existence, holding shameful dominion over the minds of men. His hatred was fierce and just. When he fought orthodoxy there was no priesthood to combat, no hierarchy to overcome. When Luther fought the church, he accomplished a great moral reformation. When he turned these same second-hand weapons against our orthodoxy there were no great wrongs to right, there were no great sins to combat, there were no corruptions to reform. We fought windmills, we combated figments of the imagination. It is the first false step that counts. To this iconoclastic attitude towards Judaism, assumed by some of the early Reformers, we may attribute much of the present-day lack of affiliation.

In our so-called “reformation,” all that we wanted to do was to benefit by the greater light that flowed from science. We owed the past—not hate—but love. The “New

The New Judaism. Judaism,” so a few wise teachers taught, was to be all that the past was minus, that which was incompatible with the best light of the present. In the past we could not benefit by progress and art, to-day we can. This is the essence of our new point of view, coupled with the hope that

the past of Judaism is not incompatible with the present of science. In this spirit we will conquer. During a diaspora of nineteen centuries we lived in the world, but not of it. We did not share its thoughts, its ambitions, its conquests, rather we suffered at its hands. Ought not this to have suggested that we did not have the same problem to solve and that we could not use against it the cast-off weapons of a different cause? We ought not to take it for granted that just because orthodox Christianity is in disfavor with modern thought, that therefore orthodox Judaism has committed similar sins, nor that it is not something extra fine to be a Jew, nor that we need apologize for the prayer *נִי שְׂלֵם עִשְׁתִּי* which was like Socrates' daily prayer of thanks that he was born a Greek and an Athenian and not a barbarian.

We are a peculiar people, a people different from others. We read history differently from others, we did things differently from others. The world tried to turn us from **The Mission of Israel.** our path. But we took the cuffs and kicks of the world rather than desert our stubborn originality. Is not this worth looking into, merely from the point of view of a phenomenon? The world tried to force us to yield by expatriation, by exile, by robbery, by murder, but we stood steadfast as a rock, in our originality, saying, "This is our patrimony." And shall we now give up such a patrimony—a certain Jewish originality—for the first smile of Christianity? Shall we give it up by treating it as something we want to get rid of? If our Jewishness could not be digested in the rapacious maw of European cataclysms, which have swallowed up and robbed of personality every original European nation, then there must have been something about it distinctly unique! If this is so—is not that psychology worth first respecting, then studying, then cherishing, then developing the desire to retain it, then finally the hope of promulgating it? In this modern day we have realized that Israel's past is not anything for which apologies need be offered, but rather something in which we may take pride.

Here we have sat at the gates of the nations watching, but not partaking in the ceaseless flow of events. Great movements arose, flowered and died. As generation came and generation went, we

passed our calm and deliberate judgment. Is not all European history worth re-reading through this new point of view. Perhaps the placing of Israel during this diaspora may in itself be providential and point to its mission. Throughout nineteen centuries we have kept ourselves distinct. Without land or royalty we have yet been a nation; without the pomp and pageantry of a church we have yet been a people intensely religious. Is not this our lesson to the world? I believe this to be true despite the cry that has gone up, "Go to, now, let us have a synod—let us have the trappings and habiliments of a Church." If we would attempt to combat the anarchy that prevails and the indifference that increases, then we must set ourselves to the task of persuading the congregations in large and in small cities that the Jew should not try to be like the gentile, merely because the gentile wears the spurious stamp of shallow modernity, that he should not endeavor to compose his ritual and write his services to the tune of "lest we be ashamed on account of our Christian neighbor"—but that he should try to be—original, different. From this point of view let us study Jewish history and European history. From this point of view let us try to solve some of the problems that confront Modern Judaism. Perhaps this may cure our disease. I have little hope in a theologic mission, during these days when the theologic avenue seems choked up. But through this historic point of view we may come to persuade our people that our originality is a crown of glory, not a badge of shame.

II. THE UNAFFILIATED ORTHODOX JEW.

The unsynagogued Jewish population residing in scattered communities although considerable in number dwindles to insignificance

Number and Distribution.	when compared to the unsynagogued orthodox who live in large cities. In the city of Philadelphia, by way of example, there are at least 50,000 Russian Jews who call them-
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selves orthodox. The synagogues that serve for their accommodation cannot seat more than 10,000 people. This leaves an unsynagogued multitude of 40,000. This office has gathered the names of 200 small towns where circuit work ought to be introduced. Let us say that each community contains a hundred Jewish persons. This

would make a total of only 20,000 Country Jews in the United States. No doubt there are 200 more cities where circuit work is needed, but the grand total 40,000 would only equal the number of unsynagogued orthodox Jews in one city like Chicago or Philadelphia. If numbers give weight to the argument there is no question as to the crying need for synagogue extension in the large cities.

In connection with this consideration we must note the fact that there are two migratory movements taking place among the Jews of this country. The children of the German

**Two Migratory
Movements.**

Jews who have long resided in the country districts are gradually making their way into the large cities. On the other hand, the Russian Jews in the large cities are pouring a steady stream of immigrants into the smaller centers. The same phenomenon that we witness in every large city, namely—that the Russian immigrant moves into the residence district and business district previously occupied by the German immigrant—is taking place in the country. In a certain sense the Country Jew of to-day will be the City Jew of to-morrow. And likewise the country population of to-morrow will be recruited from to-day's city population. The generation that is to be influenced by religion must be taken in childhood. Consequently, to influence the future inhabitants of the large cities (and we deal only with futures in this problem) we must educate the Country Jew's children. Likewise to prepare the future Country Jew to withstand the dangers of isolation, we must inculcate a love for modern Judaism in the children of the recent immigrant.

I have now reached the part of my report that deals with the Peoples' Synagogue of Philadelphia. I take it that your interest in this matter lies in an account of what was accomplished, the difficulties encountered and a plain statement concerning the possibilities of this work in the future. An account of

**The Peoples' Syn-
agogue of
Philadelphia—
Its Success.**

how we organized, what preliminary difficulties we encountered has been published elsewhere and is not to the point at this time. Suffice it to say the congregation now has a lot and is on the point of beginning building operations. In a certain sense our work in Philadelphia

was eminently successful. That is to say, we established a Reform congregation in the orthodox quarter. I call this successful, because this is what we started out to do. Of course the congregation was not radical in tendency, but that was not at all necessary, inasmuch as the members of the congregation regarded themselves as reformed and were also so denominated by their opponents.

Gratifying as this element of success may be (and it will inspire different people with different degrees of satisfaction) candor com-

Its Failure. pelms me to admit that our enterprise failed signally in certain other things. At the time of its establishment, our synagogue which

we called "Congregation Israel" created considerable excitement. By methods pardonable in themselves, this excitement was not allowed to die out. Some partisan feeling was evinced by several orthodox rabbis and by a few orthodox editors. However, viewing the matter after six months of calm deliberation, I am inclined to think that "Congregation Israel," *in my day at least*, stirred very little more than an inconsequential ripple on the broad surface of orthodox Judaism in Philadelphia. One of the orthodox rabbis expressed the popular disdain at the supposed inroads we made upon their synagogues, in these words: "Let the skotzim get out of our congregations. Then we will have things just as in Russia."

However, my strongest doubts as to the success of the institution arose not from the utterances of orthodox rabbis or editors, but from a contemplation of the following facts. Out of the vast host of people in Philadelphia, we could not get enough members during the first six months to make the synagogue self-supporting. I understand that not very much progress has been made in that direction in the last six months. The salary of the present incumbent is being paid out of a fund, gathered among the "up-town friends," rather than "down-town members" of the congregation. We needed 200 members to make the congregation self-supporting. In my day, we had at the very highest 100 families, or about 400 individuals out of 40,000—one one-hundredth! Is this not more than passing strange? Naturally, I hesitate to instance this as an evidence of lack of success, because it may, with justice perhaps, be argued that this was due merely to my inability to get members. But if it will be taken into

consideration that I had the assistance of several men who have built up vast congregational institutions of their own, it will be seen that the absence of support was due to the nature of the case.

Now wherefore this singular lack of support? Two reasons present themselves to me, which I will treat at some length. The com-

**Do the Unsyn-
agogued Jews
of Orthodox
Antecedents
Want Reform?**

prehensive answer to the above query will be found in the statement that the Orthodox Jew has never penetrated to the heart of Reform Judaism. He has only beheld the husks, the outer shell of Reform. And this outer shell does not look beautiful to him.

The two objectionable features seem to be, first, the name, second, what is to him an unaccountable aversion to things which are primordially Jewish. Let us look further into these points of view. For some reason or other the Ghetto does not desire Judaism which is labelled "Reform." Even the members of "Congregation Israel" rejected the term "Reform" as part of the proposed name. To be sure they wanted order and decorum, they desired the introduction of some English in the service, also the addition of a lecture, etc., etc., but they could not see why all these innovations were the peculiar prerogative of the established institution called "Reform." They felt that *their* orthodoxy was not so hide-bound that they could not evolve all these changes out of their own consciousness. They did not take kindly to reform, because it represented a schism and nothing seems more objectionable to the Jew than the violation of *א-ל תפריש כן הצביר*. As far as name is concerned, they were merely branded "Reformers," "outcasts," etc., by their opponents, much in the same sense in which a "cherem" is said to have been pronounced against them in one of the synagogues. The popular feeling is well described in the answer made by a gentleman who refused to join our congregation. Said he, "Ich will besser wissen Leute bleiben." "I'd rather remain among gentlemen, than be mixed up with reformers and the like."

It may be rejoined with some show of reason: "Do they care for the label 'Orthodox?'" To this I am compelled to reply that while

the young men and the young women are for the most part not observant of the strict orthodox ritualism, yet

Do they Want when asked whether they are Reform or
Orthodoxy? Orthodox Jews they express themselves unequivocally in favor of orthodoxy. And this

is so because of a certain relationship between theory and practice. There seems to be, even in the best regulated lives a far greater line of cleavage between the religious ideal and the daily practice than most of us, who happen to be religious leaders, would be willing to admit. The religious ideal exists as a plane of thought where we sometimes ascend, but in which we do not daily move and have our being. It is a sort of top story to our house which it is very inconvenient to use as a living room. Ordinary life jogs along, only occasionally conscious of the religious ideal. The farmer plows his fields, the mechanic pursues his labors, the merchant drives his bargains, quite oblivious to his conception of immortality. The average man performs his work, pursues his pleasure, has his quarrels very much the same whether he be Catholic, Protestant, or Jew. His religion, to a large extent, lives as an ideal in his brain. And so it happens that an Orthodox Jew may be very unobservant, but may at the same time have a very vivid ideal of Judaism in his mind. He lives his humdrum or exciting life, as the case may be, more or less conscious that he is not living up to his ideal. But should you ask him what is his ideal of a good Jew he would describe the ideal of an Orthodox Jew. Now it becomes merely a matter of displacement. Like two solids which cannot occupy the same space at the same time, two contradictory ideals cannot hold joint supremacy in the same mind during the same period of time. Before the new ideal can reign supreme it must attack and displace the old. Why does not the reform ideal displace the orthodox? Because it comes in an objectionable form. As the line of reasoning just pursued shows us, our orthodox brother has no objection to the realities of Reform, but he dislikes the name. Well, what a waste of words it would be if we should stop to discuss whether the shell of Reform Judaism is beautiful or is not beautiful. What do we care for the shell when we know that the heart is sound. If the Orthodox Jew wants the realities of Reform—but not the name—then let him have the realities of Reform without a label.

To understand the second reason why the Russian Jew dislikes Reform, we must take cognizance of certain thought—currents that

**Thought—Currents
in Russia, Hascalah
and Zionism.**

immigration has flowed hither from that country. About thirty years ago the Russian Jewish youth awoke to the fact that there existed outside of Jewish learning a vast field of engaging literature, and beyond Jewish life a realm that teemed with interest and charm. In the twenty years that succeeded, a subtle awakening stole over the senses of the Russian Jewry. The young men became ambitious to attend universities. Many wandered into foreign lands. A vast host of classic literature was translated into Yiddish and into Hebrew, and eagerly consumed by a multitude hungering after the new thought. This renaissance denominated the "Hascalah" movement, owed its origin to German models of thought, and was unconsciously perhaps reproducing a similar movement that swept over Germany earlier in the century.

The Hascalah movement entered into Russia through two channels; from Berlin in the northwest and from Brody in the southwest. In either case it came through the medium of German language and was regarded in a quasi-sense as a German movement. Among the numerous traces it left in the language of the Russian Jew the colloquial word "Datch" will illustrate this, as well as any other. The word is the dialect for "Deutscher," and was applied to those Russians—not Germans—who were "Aufgekläert" educated, enlightened. Similarly the term "Datch-Chumesh," which means "explained or enlightened Pentateuch," when literally translated means—the Pentateuch done into German. The Hascalah was a movement of German importation.

So quickly does history move that scarcely thirty years after its incipency a vast wave of contumely has swept over the movement begun so auspiciously. The resentment felt in Russia against the Hascalah has led many to deprecate the valuable contributions it made to enlightenment. The reason for this animus may be found in a new thought movement, a new renaissance which has succeeded the other—already called old. This new renaissance has for its outward idea the unfortunate hope of acquiring Palestine. I say un-

fortunate because I fear this fond dream will never be realized, but whatever the outward trappings of this movement may be, whether political dominion or merely the acquisition of a haven of rest for five million unfortunates, it has proven to be a great awakening—a renaissance in literature, in art, and in ambition.

The old renaissance had for its ideal the acquisition of "gentile knowledge and custome and manners." It was animated by too

**The Two Move-
ments Compared.**

worshipful an attitude towards the glamour of the outer world. The new renaissance repudiates this state of mind. The old was based upon the Aufklaerungsphilosophie—the "Let's-get-civilized" attitude towards Judaism. The new is Judaico-centered and believes that the fullness of culture and grace will emanate from our own midst. The men who fostered the Hascalah movement were those for whom western civilization and western learning had all the fascination of a dream. The men who gave Zionism its life and policy were the young men who went forth to acquire the new learning of the universities, and who came back—but not overcome by its glitter and dazzle. They were the men like Herzl and Nordau, who lived in the most intimate relationship with western civilization, who tasted its golden apples only to find them apples of Sodom filled with gall and ashes. The old ideal was apologetic, the new is intensely self-assertive.

Let us now see what bearing this renaissance in Russia has had upon the Russian Jew's willingness to accept Reform Judaism. The

**Hascalah a
Counterpart of
Reform.**

old renaissance, the Hascalah movement, had its origin in Germany and was based upon the same rationalistic philosophy that was dominant at the birth of Reform Judaism. The uninterrupted progress of the Hascalah ideas would have produced a similar movement in Russia as is ours in America. But for the last ten years there has been working in opposition to this, the spirit of Zionism, whose great strength lies in the totally variant point of view. Zionism has never

been able to forgive the Hascalah movement for seeking its inspiration without the Jewish sphere. The chief strength of the new point of view lies in this very self-assertiveness. It is regrettable that to some minds there is no reconciliation between the two ideals, but need this be so?

Here you will find the explanation of the dislike felt by the Russian Jew for Reform. The Russian Jew, especially the more recent immigrant, is nothing if not a Zion-

Why Reform does ist—an advocate of the self-assertive,
not Fascinate the strongly Jewish point of view. Reform,
Russian Jew. however, he sees only from the outside. All

that is visible to him is its apologetic tendencies, its bashful repression of customs and thoughts that are primordially Jewish. Naturally the Russian Jew feels a deep resentment at what he thinks is still the iconoclastic attitude toward Israel's treasures and the assimilative attitude towards the glamour of modern civilization. He transfers to German Reform the distrust he felt towards German Hascalah. I say again, it is regrettable that to his mind there is no reconciliation between the two ideals. But you and I need not follow his mistakes. We can afford to be bold. We who have tasted the kernel of Reform Judaism, need not be afraid to acknowledge that the shell is uninviting. Is our loyalty to descend into jingoism? My king can do no harm? Shall we really raise the cry of heresy if a man comes to us and points out, that some of our leaders have disported themselves before the Ark of the Lord, that they have laid unsanctified hands upon some of its treasures? To the Orthodox Jew, who has never attained to the heart of Reform, these few flaws loom up and overshadow the complete picture. But we can certainly afford to be magnanimous. We can acknowledge our faults—nay more, we can even make an effort to correct them.

Perhaps we will arrive at a conclusion as to what ought to be done by examining our own motives in the case. We who are Reform ministers regard the solution of this problem as our duty.

Just because we are ministers of Reform let us examine carefully

if we be interested from the point of view of Reformers or from the point of view of Jews. What are we animated by? What arouses our zealous anger or compassion? It is certainly not the sight of pious worshippers proceeding to their prayers. Our souls are not harrowed up at the display of talis and tefillin, nor do our hearts melt with maudlin pity at the drone of the busy cheder. It is not the housewife perplexed with questions of kosher and trefa that arouses in us the "missionary zeal." Here I wish to insert parenthetically, that we all know of the existence of certain men and women who are so ashamed of these customs that if they could they would arouse religious movements for their suppression. They forget that these were the practices of their parents. I for one do not advocate their reintroduction, but I feel profoundly that the man who is ashamed of his father and his mother is not he whose advice should guide a religious movement. Let us once and for all times remove ourselves from the category of the missionary. Let us plainly acknowledge by act as well as by word that the interest we feel is not the interest of making converts to Reform, but the interest that one Jew should feel in the welfare of another. I say this advisedly for I consider this to have been the huge blunder that we made in founding the Peoples' Synagogue of Philadelphia. The impression left upon many was that we considered it a consummate victory if a man prayed with his hat off and out of a Union Prayer Book. As though we were afraid that Satan, the great accuser, plied his nefarious trade, these days, by persuading some miserable son of Abraham to wear his hat and pray out of a Roedelheim tefilla.

The two motives that arouse us to action are these. In the first place the Judaism taught by the orthodox leaders represents a fourteenth century culture and does not adequately lend itself to the practice of men and women who live in the twentieth century. Not that its teachings are anything but pure and uplifting, but its form is burdensome and impracticable. Life is

**Let Us Remove
Ourselves from the
Category of the
Missionary.**

**Our Motives and
Aims.**

so absorbing and teaches its own culture so ruthlessly that a vast wall of separation grows up between life and religion, between the world and home, between the civilization of the twentieth century and that of the fourteenth. The second motive that leads us to attack this problem is the most reprehensible policy of *laissez faire* adopted by official orthodoxy.

From a definition of our motives we pass easily to a statement of what we desire to accomplish. If we are not missionaries working for Reform, then it should make little or no difference to us whether the particular service these people adopt be Orthodox or Reformed, or anywhere between the two extremes. This is not only a possible conclusion, but a most necessary conclusion. If we needlessly insist upon the abolition of any of the old customs that have grown dear to the heart of Orthodoxy, we lay ourselves open to the just accusation of bigotry. If our aim is to wed all that is worth while in modern culture to all that was good in Orthodox Judaism, minus the incompatibilities, let us understand that the process is a gradual one. Only as the light of modern science dawns upon the Orthodox Jew will he realize that there are incompatibilities. And only as he gradually becomes aware of these can they be removed.

Certain institutions already exist in each of the large cities for the accomplishment of some of the objects mentioned above. In New

<p>The Institution as a Solution.</p>	<p>York there is The Educational Alliance; in Philadelphia, the Hebrew Literature Society; in Cincinnati, The Jewish Educational Institute; in Chicago, The Maxwell Street</p>
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Settlement, and similar organizations in all the large cities. In these institutions, with only a few exceptions that I know of, the stress is laid solely upon civilization, culture. Classes for literature, music, art, needle-work, and domestic science abound—but Judaism is religiously excluded. I am told that the New York Educational Alliance is one of the exceptions to this rule.

The defect of institutional work is easy to comprehend. It is

defect well illustrated by what took place in the family of Moses Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn was an apostle

The Defect of Institutional Work. of culture. He probably, more than any one man, gave the cultural impetus to Judaism which produced Reform. In his capacious brain both culture and Orthodoxy could abide, but his children, who converted, exemplify how culture alone may work harmful effects to Orthodoxy. This is the danger of our settlements and Hebrew institutes. Those that attend them are given culture, civilization. They are acquainted with the latest findings of science, art, and literature. In a decade they travel the five hundred years that separate the Judaism of the Schulchan Aruch from the life of to-day. But nothing is done to adapt their religion to their modern ideology. As a result, the product of such purely cultural surroundings is in a fair way to imitate the example of Mendelssohn's children. In the solution of these problems the "institute" may serve as a useful factor, but is by no means a complete or adequate method of guiding the unsynagogued Orthodox Jew back to his religious moorings. Classes in literature and history, even Jewish literature and Jewish history, do not furnish adequate opportunities for soul-building. While knowledge is an absolute pre-requisite for spirituality, it will never answer as a substitute therefor. We should not lose sight of the fact that, if we would stir men's souls and wake their consciences, we must come as the representatives of a great cause and speak to men before the altar of God. It is true, let us have classes for education, gymnasiums, and social organizations within the synagogue—any legitimate means of bringing men and women within the reach of our voice, but let us remember that it is the man in the pulpit, in whose hand the issue lies.

One reason why this work has thus far not been continued, is because our Board of Managers has been unable to find available

The Need of the Hour is Men. men who combine in themselves the qualifications necessary for this work. It is not extraordinary congregations that we need. The cry of the hour is not so much for better machines, but for better mechanics. For this work we need men with a *thorough* and *first-hand* knowledge of the classical, the

mediæval, and the modern Jewish literatures. This is a *sine qua non* of success. We have too long been speaking slightly of Hebrew learning. But these people to whom we address ourselves require this knowledge, and "these people" constitute probably a million and a quarter of the million and a half Jews in the United States. Secondly, he must approach his task not in the spirit of iconoclasm, but in the spirit of love and forbearance. It is true he must endeavor to combine all that is good in modern civilization, with all that is permanent in Judaism, but he must love that Judaism, he must be proud of it, his imagination must be afire with its poetry, his heart must throb with its message. And if among his many tasks he be called to consign to oblivion some hoary custom of the past, let there be no unseemly haste, no vulgar, nouveau-riche shamefacedness at our past, but gently—as one would lay to rest a cherished parent. And for the accommodation of such a rabbi no extraordinary congregation is needed. Any combination of orthodox men who have lived here long enough to appreciate the march of civilization will answer the purpose. Lastly, this leader must have patience. It took Moses forty years. If this man, too, cultivates patience he may lead his people from Egypt to Canaan.

IN MEMORIAM
DR. LIPPMAN MAYER

"The Central Conference of American Rabbis" in session at Cleveland, Ohio, July, 1905, received formal announcement of the demise at Latrobe, Pa., on August 30, 1904, of the Rev. Dr. Lippman Mayer, Rabbi Emeritus of Congregation Rodeph Shalom of Pittsburgh, Pa. Moved by a profound sense of the loss sustained by the Conference and by the sentiments of genuine sorrow felt by all its members, the Committee named below was unanimously appointed to inscribe this minute in the official records, in memory of the departed friend and colleague.

DR. LIPPMAN MAYER

was one of the founders of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. He was one of the most faithful attendants at its sessions and ever loyal and steadfast in his devotion to its interests.

Bringing to America, the inspirations and best traditions of the founders and leaders of the Reform Movement in Germany, he took an active and vital part in its development in America. Genial and reliable in every relation of life, he was by temperament and by conviction singled out for the important function of conciliating the conflicting views, harmonizing discordant sentiments and healing the differences that arose between the ardent champions of Reform in the East and the West. He made his home and his Congregation in Pittsburgh, central to the whole movement, and by his forbearance, kindness, and insight, as well as by the courageous attitude he took at critical moments, he contributed in large measure to the making of the history of Judaism in America, during the important era of which he was a part.

Every movement, religious, educational, patriotic, and philanthropic, commanded his zealous support. He was a quiet but efficient worker, not alone in the sphere of his chief activities at Pittsburg, but in every enterprise of a national or international scope, which promised to ameliorate the condition of the oppressed and needy and to promote the sacred cause of Israel.

In his personal relation to his Colleagues, Dr. Mayer was likewise distinguished as being the mediator between the older and the younger generation. Bound with every tie of friendship to the colleagues who were his co-workers, he endeared himself to the whole generation of their descendants by untold acts of considerateness and helpfulness.

His sympathetic heart has ceased its beating, but the memory of its countless benefactions will endure as a blessing forever.

D. PHILIPSON,
S. SALE,

M. LANDSBERG,
H. BERKOWITZ,

Chairman.



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